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[Following are translations of selected
items from the Chinese Communist local press.
Source documentation accompanies each of the
articles.]

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SIAN MUNICIPAL PARTY COMMITTEE WORK REPORT (EXTRACTS)

[Following is a translation of the above work report at the First Session of the Fourth Sian Municipal Party Congress delivered by Tung Hsueh-yuan (董學源), Secretary of the Sian Municipal Party Committee, published in Sian Jih-pao, Sian, 25 October 1960.]

I.

During the past two years since conclusion of the First Session of the Third Sian Municipal Party Congress, the Party organizations and masses of people have mustered their revolutionary vigor, resolutely carried out the Party general line of socialist construction and the policy of walking on two legs under the guidance of brilliant Mao Tse-tung thought and the Party Central and Shensi Provincial Committees and have attained great achievements in the various fields of socialist revolution and socialist construction. Thus, a heavy blow has been levied on the imperialists, reactionaries, modern revisionists and right opportunists who have slandered and attacked our general line, big leap forward and the people's communes.

Like the rest of the country, Sian Municipality has completed the principal production targets outlined in the Second Five-Year Plan three years ahead of schedule. In 1958 the municipality's total industrial output value was increased by 86.4 percent over 1957 and in 1959 it exceeded 1958 by 56.8 percent, while the output value figure for the first half of 1960 already equals 2.5 times the annual output value of 1957 and has exceeded the corresponding period of 1959 by 88.6 percent. Iron production was completely nonexistent during the First Five-Year Plan period, but Sian has now become one of the iron and steel centers in the province.

In the fall of 1958, people's communes were organized in the rural suburbs of Sian under the new situation growing out of the big leap forward. The organization of the people's communes has promoted a close tie among the workers peasants, traders, students and soldiers and stimulated an

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all-round development of agriculture, forestry, livestock, subsidiary and fishing industries and has also demonstrated its incomparable superiority in the organization of the various aspects of people's economic life.

The people's commune has mobilized and organized the masses for the extensive construction of farm irrigation projects, utilized local resources for the development of commune-operated industries, launched a tool reform movement, promoted the use of electricity and machinery for farming operations, effectively controlled natural calamities, and developed grain, cotton, and supplemental food production. The first half of 1960 also witnessed an upsurge of urban people's communes, the universal establishment of which has further organized the production and livelihood of the urban people, impelled the socialist revolution and speeded up socialist construction.

Simultaneous with the big leap forward in industrial and agricultural production, the rate of development in the fields of trade and finance, culture, health, and scientific research has been greatly accelerated and marked successes have also been achieved in the struggle against our enemy and in the political development program. All these successes represent a victory of the Party general line for socialist construction, a victory of the big leap forward, a victory of the people's communes and a victory of Mao Tse-tung's thought.

The victory of the general line is the result of our efforts for continuously strengthening the Party leadership and promoting mass campaigns. Chairman Mao has frequently taught us: the real greatness comes from the masses of people who have an unlimited creative capacity, and only by relying on the masses can we become invincible; only the masses of people are true creators of history and the real history is the history of the people.

During the past two leap forward years, the broad masses have greatly promoted the Communist spirit of boldness in thinking, speaking and doing, embarked on a mass labor emulation campaign in which they have created an upsurge of studying diligently, working relentlessly and mustering their vigor to develop themselves and to follow and catch up with the advanced and to help the backward; they have developed the Communist style of cooperation in carrying out their tasks in a selfless spirit, with the result many unprecedented accomplishments have been achieved and a large number of heroes and model workers have emerged.

Since 1960 the mass campaign has entered into a new stage whereby everyone devotes his efforts to technical

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innovations and technical revolution, everyone studies science and everyone studies theories. Thus, many manual and physical jobs have been replaced by fully and partially mechanized operations and a number of single-controlled automatic units and automatic lines of production have been installed with the result that the labor efficiency has been raised from several to hundreds of times.

The broad masses of workers and peasants are studying Chairman Mao Tse-tung's works, arming themselves with Mao Tse-tung's thought and using Mao Tse-tung's thought to guide their practical tasks, and are launching a mass scientific research activity. By motivating the masses, many things which were previously considered impossible to do can now be done quickly. A number of advanced techniques have been popularized among the masses through the method of simplification. The so-called precision techniques are no longer a mystery and unattainable by the people. And the fact is very clear that the power and wisdom of the people are inexhaustible.

As long as we persistently maintain the policy of letting politics take command and promoting mass campaigns, continuously strengthening Communist education among the masses and developing their initiative and creative spirit for socialist construction, we will be able to push the leap forward further ahead.

Only by strengthening the Party leadership can we assure a vigorous development of the mass campaign in the various fields. Without the Party leadership, it will be basically impossible to achieve a complete liberation and a rapid development of the forces of production. In line with the spirit and principles as set forth by the Party Central Committee and Chairman Mao's theory of "Unceasing Revolution", "Stages of the Development of Revolution", and "Resolution on Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People", the Party organization in Sian has during the past two years continuously educated the masses with Communist ideology and encouraged them to advance toward our new goal with ever greater enthusiasm; unceasingly adjusted the relations between production and forces of production as well as between the superstructure and the foundation of the economy; and greatly impelled the initiative of the broad masses. This has brought about an upsurge of the active mass campaigns and an acceleration of the development of socialist revolution and socialist construction.

In accordance with the directives of the Party Central Committee and Chairman Mao Tse-tung as well as the Provincial Party Committee, we have, in the past two years,

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continuously improved the style of our leadership with cadres taking part in physical work, have cultivated experimental farms and penetrated into the first line of production where they eat, live, work together and discuss with the masses.

In industrial enterprises, we have carried out the system of "two participation, one change and three combinations," thus bringing about a closer tie between the leadership and the masses, greatly raising their labor enthusiasm and revolutionary initiative. The Communist style of mutual cooperation, mutual assistance, mutual improvement and mutual development have been widely practiced among many production units.

The people's communes have been established in the urban and rural areas with correct adjustment of the relations between the system of ownership by all people and the system of collective ownership, between big collectives and small collectives, and between the state, collective groups and individuals. All this has paved a broad path for the development of the mass campaign and the continual leap forward of the national economy.

The mass movement for the general line, the big leap forward and the people's communes has been realized between the two roads of political and ideological struggle and the sharp struggle between two classes. Facts have proved that only by mobilizing the masses politically and ideologically to defeat the bourgeois class and eliminate its influence and to enlarge the ideological position of socialism can we thoroughly carry out the Party general line, guarantee a continual leap forward in the national economy and assure a healthy development of the people's communes.

In 1958 after winning the great victory in the struggle of rectification and anti-Rightists, a great upsurge of the big leap forward immediately took place in Sian. By autumn of 1959 we had resolutely waged a struggle against the Right-leaning opportunists under the direction of the Provincial Party Committee, completely frustrated the fanatical attack of the Right-leaning opportunists and irradicated their influence. In every area of the political and ideological fronts, we waged an unremitting struggle against every form and shape of the bourgeois ideology and the conventional influence of the bourgeoisie and petty bourgeoisie. The victories of these struggles have greatly raised the Communist consciousness of the whole Party and the broad masses, enlarged the position of Marxism-Leninism, strengthened the Party leadership and swiftly created a new upsurge

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for the continual leap forward in industry and agriculture.

In order to provide a continual leap forward in industry and agriculture, we have followed the spirit of Chairman Mao's directive on breaking down superstition, emancipating the thought and promoting the Communist style of being bold in thinking, speaking and doing and have embarked on a vigorous political propaganda program to stimulate the heroic and creative spirit of the masses for accelerating the development of socialist production.

We have deeply realized what the Party Central Committee and Chairman Mao have repeatedly taught us on bolstering the Party leadership, launching mass campaign in a big way, having politics take command and waging unwavering struggles as our extreme political tasks in the cause of socialist revolution and socialist construction.

All the achievements we have attained in the past two or so years have fully proved the correctness of the Party general line, the big leap forward and the people's communes. The general line, the big leap forward and the people's communes have continuously demonstrated their great strength. And this represents a victory of Mao Tse-tung's thought. We must devote more efforts and use more systematic way to the study of Chairman Mao's works and raise higher the red flag of Mao Tse-tung's thought to strive for still greater successes in the various fields of work under the direct leadership of the Provincial Party Committee.

II.

The Party Central Committee points out: Agriculture is the foundation of the national economy and grain is a foundation within a foundation; while iron and steel are food to the industry, they are also principal food to rural mechanization and agricultural capital construction. Chairman Mao directs us: one is iron and steel and the other is grain. When we have these two things, we will be able to do anything easily; our efforts to develop agriculture and grain production in a big way, to increase iron and steel output and grain production and to practice strict economy are a decisive factor for accelerating the development of the national economy systematically and proportionately and to speed up the process in building our country into a powerful socialist nation with modern industry, modern agriculture, modern science and culture and modern national defenses.

The Provincial Party Committee also directs: "all Party organizations throughout the province must act immediately

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and mobilize all available forces and the initiative of the broad masses to resolutely carry out the directive of the Party Central Committee by further stepping up the production-increase and economy campaign centering around grain and steel production."

Being an industrial city, Sian is especially charged with an important responsibility for supporting the province's agricultural technical reform and greater growth in iron and steel production. It is the central task of the whole Party and all people in Sian to carry out the directives of the Party Central Committee and the Provincial Party Committee thoroughly and fully mobilize all forces and the initiative of the broad masses to push the current increase-production and economy campaign centering around grain and steel to a new high.

1. Maintain the Genuine Concept of Making Agriculture the Foundation of Our National Economy, Provide Strong Support for Agriculture, Use Every Means to Increase Grain and Supplemental Food Production

Chairman Mao's thought regarding agriculture as the foundation of the development of national economy is an extremely important development of Marxist politico-economics. Chairman Mao and the Party Central Committee's proposed policy of making agriculture the foundation for the development of our national economy combined with industry as its main force and with priority development of heavy industry and rapid expansion of agriculture is basically a starting point of the general line. While the development of industry on a priority basis and rapid development of agriculture are mutually related and mutually supporting, it will be impossible to develop industry if we fail to develop agriculture. Therefore, we must absolutely reject the idea that industry can isolate itself from agriculture and develop alone; nor should we entertain any idea that the development of agriculture is slow while the development of industry is fast.

The facts in the past - particularly those established since the big leap forward - have time and again proved that the big leap forward in agriculture has played an enormous role in accelerating the big leap forward in industry and the over-all growth of our national economy. Only through the development of agriculture, can we provide industry with ever-increasing supplies of grain, nonstaple foodstuffs, raw materials and construction capital and

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create a broad market outlet for industrial products.

Moreover, the great development of industry and agriculture will naturally bring about an extensive growth in commerce and many other services, such as culture, education, science and health. The policy of making agriculture the foundation and supporting agriculture is not only an economic question but also an important political question concerned with the implementation of the general line, consolidation and development of the people's communes and of the alliance between the workers and the peasants, as well as stimulating the initiative of the broad masses, particularly the peasants, for socialist construction. For this reason, it has become a principal task for the industrial departments and all other departments to enlist the greatest support for agriculture.

Here in Sian, we have resolutely carried out this Central policy and have done much work in the field of agriculture. Particularly after the Provincial Party Committee issued a call in the spring "to use every way and means to support agriculture," we have reorganized our previously scattered and temporary farm-support activities into a well-planned, well-directed, and well-organized program for providing agriculture with over-all support on a regular basis. However, it must be pointed out that in some areas the efforts devoted to the farm-support program are still not sufficient and that there are some cadres who still lack a complete understanding of the important meanings of support to agriculture.

To further implement this Central policy, it is necessary for the cadres and masses to maintain firmly that agriculture is the foundation for the development of our national economy, that they must first let politics take the command; it is also necessary to urge all Party members, especially the responsible members and cadres at all levels, to make a serious study of Chairman Mao's theory on making agriculture the foundation of the development of our national economy and the related directives issued by the Party Central Committee and the Provincial Party Committee; they must correctly grasp that the policy of making agriculture the foundation of the national economy proposed by the Party Central Committee and Chairman Mao is the Party's long-term strategic policy, and carry out an extensive and penetrating propaganda work among the masses, thus unifying the ideological understanding of the whole Party and all people, raising everyone's political consciousness and providing the greatest support for agriculture.

As far as the rural cadres are concerned, they must

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direct their thought towards serving the rural areas on a long-term basis and demonstrate still greater confidence in doing a good job under the present extremely favorable conditions when the whole Party is concentrating on agriculture and when every trade and occupation are actively supporting agriculture.

Since manpower is a deciding factor in production, the agricultural front must have sufficient manpower in order to assure a rapid development of agricultural production. As a basic step in strengthening the agricultural front, it is necessary to embark on a mass campaign for conserving manpower. Methods must be used to enable all other fields to spare whatever labor force that can be spared for strengthening the first line of production, particularly the first line of agricultural production.

The utilization of rural manpower must follow the policy of emphasizing grain production and of developing a diversified operation on the basis of over-all arrangement. Efforts must be devoted to correcting the practices of irrational use of manpower and manpower waste. "Waste of manpower is the greatest waste of all and labor saving is the greatest saving of all; the work of conserving manpower must be treated as a central task of the increase-production and economy campaign." It is necessary to organize labor cooperation and distribute manpower rationally and flexibly in accordance with the seasonal farming conditions.

During the busy farming season, make sure that at least 80 percent of the rural manpower, with over half in the best of physical condition, participate in agricultural production; at the same time efforts must be devoted to strengthening the political-ideological program, improving labor organization, perfecting the labor management system and raising the rate of work attendance and labor efficiency. In the winter the utilization of labor may be rationally arranged in accordance with the concrete conditions of agricultural and subsidiary operations and farm construction projects.

While technical reform in agriculture provides a technical foundation for speeding up the development of agricultural products, raises farm labor efficiency, and creates a basic outlet for solving farm labor shortage, the various trades and occupations in the city must treat the technical reform in agriculture as their own glorious task. The industrial departments in particular should undertake the job of supporting technical reform in agriculture as their foremost duty; all industrial products for agricultural

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uses, especially farm machinery, chemical fertilizer, farm insecticide and farm equipment and tools to be repaired or assembled, must be completed on schedule and in accordance with the quality and quantity standards.

The factories must further strengthen their coordination with the people's communes, systematically equip the hsien and commune-operated industries and assist the communes in setting up farm machinery repair networks to enable them to do their own repair work gradually. They must develop small chemical factories, farm insecticide plants and raw material processing factories, and assist the communes in training technical personnel and inspecting and repairing farm machinery, as well as providing other outstanding services in the course of the technical reform campaign in the rural area.

Meanwhile, the various communes should motivate the masses to launch a mass campaign for technical reform, promote the native methods first and then combine it with modern methods, energetically popularize the use of improved and partially mechanized tools, resolutely overcome the attitude of "overemphasizing the foreign and belittling the native methods" and of "waiting for assistance" and make reasonable utilization of support equipment and supplies provided by the various quarters.

In developing agricultural production in a big way, place grain production on the very first level because once grain production takes the lead, it will promote an all-round development in agriculture, forestry, livestock, subsidiary and fishing industries. This is why we must muster our vigor to strive for the widest possible dimension in grain production. We must resolutely carry out the policy of achieving high yields and planting more and harvesting more; use every effort to expand grain crop area, particularly wheat planted area; fully utilize all available idle land and scattered plots; and promote interplanting, mixed planting and replanting in accordance with water and soil conditions and other local factors to raise the unit yields. We must concentrate on cultivating high-yield plots, transforming low-yield into high-yield fields.

In the course of practicing the "Eight-Character-Code" during the past several years, we have acquired much experience which must be further developed in the future in order to raise grain production to an even higher level. In building water conservation projects, we should center our efforts on storing and conserving water to build up a "mass of small reservoirs," fully utilize underground and surface water resources, greatly develop mechanical pumping

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wells, use the methods of hauling, pumping and channeling to store up the surface water, and energetically construct hydraulic and power stations.

Efforts must also be concentrated on continually constructing water conservation projects with systematic plans for leveling the land and water and soil conservation work and fully developing the efficiency of the existing water conservation projects to expand the irrigated area. We must develop more fertilizer on a large scale, raise hogs with pens to accumulate manure; increase the stocks of green manure and composts, garbage fertilizer, produce ammonia from coal gas, and concentrate on manufacture of native chemical fertilizer and systematically build medium and small chemical fertilizer factories to meet the needs of increased agricultural production.

While efforts are being concentrated on increasing grain production, we should also grasp vegetable production, particularly in the suburban farming areas where vegetable farming should be taken as a principal operation. To firmly grasp vegetables production and to assure market supply play an extremely important part in improving the management of mess halls and the arrangement of people's livelihood and in conserving grain. The various communes should inter-plant vegetable with grain and cotton crops and utilize every available vacant area for planting vegetable. The quotas on commercial vegetable production and marketing must be definitely fulfilled, and every factory, school and organization should take an active part in vegetable farming and energetically set up its own production base.

We must firmly grasp livestock production centering on hog breeding. In developing hog production, it is necessary to carry out the policy of combining public with private raising with public raising as the principal operation in an effort to increase the number of hogs to one head for every person within the next two or three years. We must vigorously maintain a stock feeding management program, protect female and young animals, genuinely solve fodder problems, strengthen stock feeding management units and improve methods of animal feeding. Attention must also be directed to raising and feeding of other domestic animals and fowl.

2. Making Steel the Leader to Promote An
Over-all Leap Forward in Industry

Sian's iron and steel production occupies a comparatively higher proportion in the over-all iron and steel

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production quota of the province, and the extent of our fulfillment of the production quota exerts a great effect on the result of the provincial production quota. We have achieved an outstanding record in iron and steel production in Sian in the past two years. To further speed up the development of iron and steel production, it is necessary for us to strengthen the command of politics, overcome rightist thinking, motivate the masses and adopt effective measures for solving existing problems.

We must arrange production schedules and check over the progress daily and in every ten-day period, carry the production plans all the way down to the blast furnace, conscientiously popularize thermal-blowing, high-temperature charging and other advanced experiences, raise furnace efficiency and utilization rate, increase output, improve quality, reduce material consumption and prolong the life of equipment.

Ch'ang-an, Lin-t'ung and Lan-t'ien hsien should further strengthen their leadership over small iron mines, genuinely carry out mining construction projects, energetically solve existing problems, raise mining techniques, improve mining operational efficiency and assure ore shipments.

At the same time, concentrate on coke production to meet the needs of small blast furnaces. Furnace construction units should first start with native methods to speed up the furnace building schedule, while metallurgical equipment producing units should fulfill their production assignments according to schedule and specifications in support of the iron and steel industry in other county cities and in our city. We must stimulate our revolutionary vigor and have a great ambition and will to raise the level of iron and steel production in every day.

All cadres and workers on the industrial front must adopt an attitude of an over-all fulfillment of the state plan. The leading cadres must grasp over-all production deeply and carefully. All enterprises must further improve the quality of their products; strive to raise the quality standard of the principal products to match the advanced national level; pay particular attention to new varieties; strengthen the research of new products and the work on designing and trial production; grasp equipment maintenance and serial production; and lower raw material consumption and production. During the fourth quarter of 1960, it is necessary to muster greater vigor and strive for the over-all completion of the state plan. We must begin now to make preparations for next year's production.

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In the field of capital construction, we must resolutely carry out the unified policy and muster a superior force to wipe out the enemy piecemeal. We must arrange work schedules in the order of importance and make rational distribution and utilization of equipment, materials, and manpower with first assurance given to completion of key construction projects on schedule. The building construction and installation departments should vigorously launched a mass campaign, organize construction work promptly, and muster their forces to complete the projects group by group. They should not over-extend their capacities and spread their strength too thin; they must oppose the erroneous practices of only pursuing speed without paying any attention to quality and of only doing the main part but not the earth work and final finishing jobs, and must assure the scheduled completion of key projects for operation in accordance with specifications.

Efforts must be concentrated on the field of transportation and communications. Under the present conditions of heavy demand on the limited transportation facilities, it is necessary to direct our main transportation efforts to assure the shipments of grain, steel and other key supplies. We must energetically develop the potentials of transportation, continue launching the motor transportation campaign calling for 10,000 kilometer-ton-runs per month, organize every mode of transportation and promote short-distance transportation movement.

In all supply and material centers, partially mechanized and fully mechanized devices should be adopted for loading and unloading processes and in the rural areas, the "ssu-hua" movement should be systematically and energetically carried out. Efforts must also be devoted to the improvement of transportation apparatus and maintenance work, strengthening road maintenance, improving the organizational management of trucking services operated by the various departments and enterprises and of transportation services operated by the people's communes, raising transportation efficiency and guaranteeing safety operations.

While guaranteeing the increases in iron and steel production, also speed up the development of the consumer good industry. Although the consumer goods industry in our city has developed rather fast with some consumer products already reaching relatively high standard, the supply of consumer goods in term of varieties and volume is still far from meeting the market demand. We must be determined to change this situation and to strive to attain self-sufficiency in consumer good supply within the next two or three years.

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The various factories and enterprises should center their efforts on comprehensive utilization by developing diversified operation and should exploit their potentials fully for manufacturing consumer goods--particularly those products that are in short supply. Industries operated by urban people's communes should place production of consumer goods as their main function and strive to increase production of those products which are in great demand on the market when conditions permit. The material supply departments and commercial agencies must do their best in arranging raw material supplies.

The various industrial enterprises must strengthen their organizational leadership over production with the establishment of different rational procedural systems to stimulate the development of production. They must resolutely implement the responsibility system for factory managers under the guidance of the Party, persistently maintain the political leadership, vigorously promote mass campaigns, persist in following the mass line working methods, and genuinely carry out the "two-participation one reform and three combinations" system and the worker representatives meeting system under the Party guidance.

They must continuously summarize and popularize the advanced management experiences. Such outstanding advanced experiences as the "advanced techniques in making matching sets," "triple-line production," "review of technical revolution," and "station for popularizing advanced experiences in making matching sets", should be adopted and popularized by the various enterprises in accordance with their specific conditions.

They must also take good care of the livelihood of their employees, pay attention to their work and rest and assure safety operations. All these are important parts of the industrial management improvement program that the various enterprises must faithfully carry out in accordance with the directives and stipulations issued by the Party Central Committee and the Provincial Party Committee.

3. Fully Develop the Important Role of Finance and Trade in Supporting Agriculture

It is a highly important and glorious economic and political mission of the finance and trade agencies to provide the strongest possible support for agriculture. The field of finance and trade must fully develop its central role in the national economy in accordance with the

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needs growing out of the current mass activities on developing agriculture and grain and steel production and actively coordinate and cooperate with other departments concerned to speed up the development of agricultural production.

The commercial agencies must genuinely improve the program for supplying the means of production to agriculture, speeding up shipments of urgently needed supplies and materials to the first line of production on time. They must direct their special attention to improving the supply of complete sets of agricultural machinery and keeping a certain amount of stock and machine parts on hand; utilize local resources and local manufacturers to produce some of the means of agricultural production which are in short supply; and actively assist the local industries--particularly those industries operated by hsien, ch'u or people's communes--in developing production in an effort to satisfy the needs of agricultural production.

The finance and banking agencies must take the initiative to support the communes and production brigades, help them develop their own financial foundation, provide them with loans needed for agricultural production and assist the poor brigades in catching up with the rich brigades. Efforts should be concentrated on improving the financial work in the communes and mobilizing the masses to launch a "financial management" campaign, with the establishment of a scientific financial management and business accounting system to provide better financial service for farm production and equitable distribution.

The extensive procurement of native and special produce--particularly cotton, oil seeds, meat, eggs and fiber crops--is another important function of the finance and trade department for supporting agriculture which also has an important effect upon the rapid development of our national economy, market supply, consolidation of the people's communes and the livelihood of the people.

To improve the work of procuring nonstaple and native and special products, we must persistently let politics take command under the unified leadership of the Party; vigorously launch a mass campaign; genuinely carry out the procurement policy with a careful attitude; combine regular procurement policy with a careful attitude; combine regular procurement efforts with crash procurement programs; combine procurement activities with delivery and selling activities; carry out the procurement work promptly, firmly and practically; and integrate the procurement program with agricultural production and diversified operations.

Under the unified leadership of the Party, commercial

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personnel are mobilized to penetrate into agricultural production, to go among the masses and to assist them in developing production and diversified operations. Only production efficiency and the abundance of products can assure the successful completion of the procurement program.

Yet the procurement program is not just a function of the commercial department alone. Under the unified leadership of the Party, there must be established a close link and mutual assistance with the fields of agriculture, communications and transportation and processing industry in order to be able to achieve a complete success through a simultaneous process of producing, procuring, shipping and processing. In the present busy season of procuring supplemental farm products, we must collect and procure as many products as possible and assure an over-all fulfillment and overfulfillment of the procurement program.

While concentrating on collecting and procuring supplemental farm products, efforts should also be devoted to improving the distribution and supply of commodities. We must further rely on the people and make rational arrangement and distribution of commodities to meet the needs of the urban and rural people. The commercial agencies must strengthen the political-ideological education program for commercial workers, greatly improve their business management and their service attitude and efficiency so that they will provide a better service for politics, production and people.

4. Cultural and Educational Programs Must Closely Coordinate With Production and Serve Agricultural and Steel Production

Chairman Mao Tse-tung has taught us that a specific form of culture reflects the form of political and economic concepts of a specific society which it serves. Under the new situation of rapidly developing agriculture, we must center our cultural and educational program towards supporting agriculture, impelling the cultural revolution to a new high tide.

First of all, the concept of making agriculture the foundation for developing our national economy must be deeply integrated into the cultural and educational program which teaches the students and intellectuals the great meanings of developing agricultural production, so that they will consciously take part in agricultural production and support agriculture. As far as the educational program for promoting the rural youths in taking an active part in

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agricultural production is concerned, it is designed to educate them to become consciously new peasants of culture with ardent love for the rural areas and farm work and to ideologically and professionally commit themselves to rural villages and to struggle for the building of modern socialist rural villages.

Cultural and art units should, in accordance with their specialized field of work, use various forms of activity to promote the masses for launching a vigorous ideological-educational campaign, which promotes agriculture as the foundation for developing our national economy and publicizes outstanding figures, progressive thinking and heroic deeds on the grain and steel fronts. This will enable the Party policy of making agriculture the foundation of our national economy penetrate into the mind of the people and stimulate the growth of the production-increase and economy campaign centering on grain and steel.

The planning of cultural and educational programs, particularly for rural areas, must coordinate closely with the needs of agricultural production in accordance with the characteristics of agriculture; it should never conflict with agriculture in the use of manpower, material and financial resources and time. To develop grain and steel production and culture and education, it is necessary to further implement the policy of walking with two legs. While concentrating on improving the management of full-time schools, we must also energetically develop half-day and spare-time schools in close coordination with production activities and maintain the system of half-day farming and half-day study for the agricultural middle schools.

The patriotic health campaign designed to wipe out pests and diseases should be launched repeatedly throughout the year in combination with the activities of production, accumulating and gathering fertilizer, weeding and water draining. The current health program should be directed to labor protection, epidemic prevention and cleanliness of public mess halls. All cultural and art and athletic organizations, public health workers and sanitation personnel under the people's communes must not stay away from production. All cultural and athletic activities should be conducted flexibly in accordance with the seasonal changes of production and the changing forms of working and living conditions of the people, and under no circumstances should they be permitted to obstruct production and to indulge in extravagance. These activities must be conducted on a spare-time and voluntary basis and must be freed from formalism.

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The cultural and educational program must place special emphasis on quality and fine skill in order to better serve production in general and agriculture in particular; it must be geared towards production, particularly agricultural production, and scientific research. Schools of various grades must continuously and extensively carry out the teaching reform campaign and institute a planned reform of the secondary and primary educational system. The quality of cultural and educational work must be further improved with a genuine effort devoted to improving the key cultural and educational units.

The Party Central Committee has pointed out that before the establishment of Communist society, there is a bitter ideological struggle between socialism and capitalism. Therefore, an all-out struggle must be waged on the ideological front of our cultural and education work. We must vigorously study and publicize Mao Tse-tung's thought, resolutely remove the modern revisionist view, maintain the policy of "let one hundred flowers bloom and all schools of thought contend" in serving workers, peasants and soldiers and resolutely carry out the educational policy of serving proletarian politics and of combining education with productive labor.

The work of ideological remoulding of intellectuals should be strengthened. With the exception of those who are advanced in age and physically weak, writers, artists, scientists, teachers and all other intellectuals should persist in taking part in the physical work. And through this physical work, they will work with the masses of workers and peasants and share the sweets and bitters of life together with them, remould their thinking and instill in them the Marxist-Leninist world outlook, thus transforming themselves into real proletarian intellectuals and devoting their faithful service to the cause of socialism and communism.

5. Further Strengthen the Leadership of People's Communes, Fully Develop the Superiority of People's Communes, Accelerate the Rate of Development of Grain and Steel Production

Only by further strengthening the Party leadership of the people's communes can we further raise the socialist and Communist consciousness of the cadres and the masses, further improve the working style of the cadres, raise the business management level, further implement the Party programs and policies, greatly stimulate the production enthusiasm of the broad masses of commune members, and achieve

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an all-round abundant harvest for the coming year.

We must further promote socialist and communist education among the broad masses of commune members; further strengthen the leadership on the study of Chairman Mao's works; publicize the fine working style and outstanding services of the cadres; raise the level of leadership in the people's communes still higher; further rely on the masses; develop and promote democracy; motivate the initiative of the masses; establish and perfect business management systems--particularly production, labor and financial management systems; and cultivate and improve commune and production brigade cadres who are to be sent to Party schools or training classes periodically and group by group.

Commune-run industries must be strengthened. All rural industries operated by communes or jointly operated by hsien and commune must be placed at the service of agriculture, not wrangling manpower from agriculture. With the exception of those that require permanent operations, commune-run industries and other diversified operations should closely follow the farming seasons. This is to say that the degree of activity in commune-run industries is determined by the busy and slack farming periods and that it may be completely suspended during the peak farming season, so that manpower can be utilized on a most rational basis.

Industries operated by the urban people's communes should be gradually integrated into the regional or state industrial plans through the process of over-all planning and rational arrangement in line with the directives of the Party Central Committee and the Provincial Party Committee and the principle of unified policy. The urban people's communes should conduct a complete inspection of their industrial enterprises and draw up an over-all plan and a rational reorganization program; energetically adjust and organize manpower to concentrate on production of sundries, raw materials and supplemental food products; establish more laundry, sewing, repair and other service trades; and promote the contract system by concluding supply and marketing contracts and cooperative service contracts with the state-operated industrial, commercial and agricultural organizations.

Commune-operated factories should genuinely improve their operational methods and labor management to raise labor efficiency, promote diversification by fully utilizing discarded materials to create more material resources and lower material consumption, strengthen financial management, practice democratic administration, establish and improve necessary production control systems and reduce the number of management personnel to a minimum.

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Urban and rural people's communes should devote genuine effort to improving livelihood and collective welfare services in line with the principle of voluntary participation and collective decision. Urban city services must be continuously developed with additional, better, and efficient services and reasonable commodity prices to satisfy the urgent needs of the people. The public mess halls should operate on the existing standard of living of the people and improve their food services in accordance with their existing conditions; nurseries and kindergartens should use every method to train guardians to take care the children and their health.

The task of improving the commune's service trades and collective welfare services has a far-reaching effect upon the development of production, practice of strict economy, emancipation of labor force, raising the collective consciousness of the people and fostering the social spirit of selflessness, industry and frugality. Party committees of the various communes should take up this matter regularly and designate the committee secretary or commune director to take charge of this task.

6. Continuously Mobilize the Masses, Further Develop the Campaign for Technical Innovations and Technical Revolution

The campaign for technical innovations and technical revolution is not only a revolutionary step toward assuring the prefulfillment of the agricultural quotas but also a basic course for changing the backward outlook of our economy, technology and science and assuring a continuous leap forward of our national economy. The present main task of the technical innovations and technical revolution is to promote a mass campaign for increasing production and practice strict economy among the people with emphasis on grain and steel production, mobilize the masses to attack the key problems of improving the quality and increasing varieties of products, further raise the rate of semi-mechanization, full mechanization, semi-automation and automation and genuinely summarize, determine and popularize the important advanced experiences.

To perpetuate the campaign for technical innovations and technical revolution, it is necessary to continuously carry out ideological revolution. Facts have proved that in every new victory of technical revolution, there must be undergone the inevitable course of criticizing and overcoming superstitions and rightist attitude of despising practice and looking down on the masses of workers and peasants.

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Therefore, we must strengthen the Party leadership with Mao Tse-tung's thought taking the command; continuously endeavor to rid ourselves of the thinking that "révolution has reached the zenith", the "feeling of inferiority;" the "mystery of technology" and so on; and motivate the masses to develop themselves and to study and work hard in striving for continuous successes in technical innovations and inventions.

The development of mass campaigns and technical revolution on a large scale represents a Marxist-Leninist line of technical revolution and a most correct course in developing our science and technology with more, faster, better and more economical results. The great victory of technical revolution which we have gained this year is the result of our efforts devoted to the mass campaign. In the course of this campaign, we have created and popularized many fine methods in mobilizing and organizing the masses, such as bringing the leading cadres, technicians and workers together and industrial workers, teachers, students and scientific researchers together, sponsoring technical demonstration and reviews of technical revolution and employing the strategy of "mustering a superior force to wipe out the enemy piecemeal" to tackle the key problems of production and attack the weak link of production. We must unceasingly summarize, improve and popularize those experiences and create more new experiences, pushing the campaign further ahead on a wider and more extensive scale.

In order to transform technical innovations and technical revolution into a mass campaign in which everyone in the country vigorously participate, it is necessary to carry out the policy of combining native with foreign methods. Both native and foreign methods or part native and part foreign methods should be adopted, whichever are feasible. Native methods, which are developed indigenously by the people through practice of production, can be applied easily and simply with the need of complex equipment and expensive materials. Being easily adopted by everyone from technician to apprentice, the native methods provide the physical and material advantages and sometimes produce better results than the foreign methods. Therefore, it is a basic question for us to maintain the policy of combining native with foreign methods in our effort to promote the mass campaign for developing science and technology with more, faster and better and more economical results.

We must get rid of the thought of "begging for help" and "overemphasizing the foreign and deemphasizing native methods," perform our work in the practical manner and

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integrate the native with foreign methods but with principal emphasis on native methods so that we will be able to further develop the initiative and creativeness of the masses and accelerate the leap of social production forces and science and technology.

In the course of technical innovation and technical revolution campaign, it is necessary for us to energetically carry out the work on appraising, summarizing and popularizing the advanced techniques and advanced experiences. With respect to those items of innovation which are not efficiently completed, efforts should be made to organize the masses for further experiments until they have reached proficiency before being popularized again. All existing innovations and inventions must be genuinely appraised and compiled, while those innovations which have been tested to have effective results should be integrated into the operational procedures for effective uses in production.

7. Greatly Develop the Fighting Spirit and
Revolutionary Style of the Yen-an Period

It has been the basic course of our revolutionary struggle and socialist construction to build our nation and to develop our enterprise through out indomitable struggle, endurance, diligence and thrift. In the past, our Party had led the masses in Yen-an and the Shensi-Kansu-Liaoning border area to the great victories of the anti-Japanese war and the liberation war through the most difficult circumstances. In the past 11 years since the founding of the People's Republic of China, the Party Central Committee and Chairman Mao Tse-tung have repeatedly told us that we must perpetually maintain the policy of building socialism and our country through diligence and thrift. The current call of the Party Central Committee for the whole party and all people to launch a vigorous production and economy campaign centering around grain and steel production has a far-reaching significance, and we must strive for the fulfillment of this call.

At present, the situation of our national economic development is extremely favorable with industrial production continuously maintaining its leap forward. Our agricultural production has suffered the greatest natural disaster, unprecedented in many decades. If such a disaster had occurred in the Kuomintang reactionary ruling period, it would have been a total catastrophe everywhere and for everyone. But at the present, we are still able to achieve an increase in agricultural production under the leadership

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of the Party Central Committee and Chairman Mao Tse-tung and through our reliance on the people's communes and our efforts to mobilize the masses for waging a determined struggle against the natural disaster. This great victory has strongly attested that our general line, big leap forward and people's communes are indisputably correct and can never be overthrown by whatever slanders used by imperialism and modern revisionism.

While it is true that the outlook of our nation has changed a great deal through our enormous achievements in the short period of 11 years since the founding of the People's Republic of China, yet we have not basically freed ourselves from poverty and backwardness. Therefore, it is necessary for us to launch a vigorous production and economy campaign centering on grain and steel in strict compliance with the directives of the Party Central Committee and the Provincial Party Committee and to adopt every measure to reinforcing the first line of production. In that, we must concentrate on improving the style of leadership by having the leading cadres penetrate into the first line of production where they eat, live and work today with the masses and to consult with the masses. We must encourage and educate the masses to practice strict economy and develop fully the Yen'en work style of being able to endure hardship and to develop ourselves and must personally plant grain crops, cultivate vegetable gardens and raise hogs to enrich our food supplies.

All these measures will exert a great influence on the further development and leap forward of our national economy and their implementation will further close the gap between industry and agriculture, between the urban and rural areas and between physical and mental work and enable the masses to gain a better comprehension of Chairman Mao's concept of making agriculture the foundation of our national economy and to exert still greater efforts in support of agriculture in general and grain production in particular.

We must also further launch the propaganda education campaign among the masses of cadres and the people so that they will be able to gain a complete understanding of the present extremely favorable political and economic conditions; we must extensively mobilize the masses to rally around the Party call and faithfully carry out the Party directives; we must never yield to any temporary difficulty, resolutely preserve and develop the revolutionary tradition of the Yen'en period and wage a determined struggle with the Marxist-Leninist spirit of never losing a war for

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achieving the definite results of expanding grain and steel production on large scale and obtaining the highest grain yields in the coming year.

III.

To bring about a continuous leap forward in our national economy and further expansion of the production and economy campaign centering around grain and steel, it is necessary to further strengthen the command of politics and the Party leadership, to create a new upsurge for studying Chairman Mao's works, to wage a determined struggle against the various forms of modern revisionist and bourgeois thinking, to strengthen the Party organizational structure and to genuinely improve Party style and leadership.

1. Promote a New Upsurge for Studying Marxism-Leninism and Chairman Mao's Work in the Entire Party and Among the People in Sian, Further Accelerate Socialist Revolution and Socialist Construction, Further Strengthen the Struggle Against Imperialism and Modern Revisionism

While classes and class struggle are still in existence, we must maintain a clear class stand and class viewpoint towards observing analyzing and handling of problems. Failing to make an analysis of classes, it will be impossible to gain a perspective into the true character of the different social phenomena and to reach a correct conclusion with the result that, regardless of what our subjective desire is, we will tend to be bogged down in the bourgeois mire and commit revisionist errors.

The great majority of our comrades, trained and tested through repeated struggles on the political-ideological front, have always been able to strengthen the Party leadership; genuinely carried out the policies of the Party Central Committee, Chairman Mao and the Provincial Party Committee; resolutely upheld the command of politics; and vigorously waged the life or death struggle in the course of carrying out their various tasks. This is the very reason why we have achieved successes in all our tasks.

However, it should be observed that although we have won a decisive victory in socialist revolution on the political-ideological front by way of the anti-rightist struggle in 1957 and the anti-right opportunist struggle in 1959, we are still living in a transitional period, a period which is the process of struggle being waged between

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the growing communism and the dying capitalism.

Judging from the present situation in Sian, the toxin of the deposed feudal landlords and influential class still remains and has not yet been completely removed; the remnants of the bourgeois regime, the bourgeois world outlook, the political and ideological influences of the bourgeois class and its intellectuals and the conventional influence of bourgeoisie and petty bourgeoisie will still exist for a long time. For this reason, within the political-ideological field, the question of socialism completely defeating capitalism has not been ultimately solved and the struggle will continue from time to time and on a larger or lesser degree during the entire transitional period until the political and ideological influences of the bourgeois class are completely wiped out.

Internationally, the imperialist camp headed by US imperialism is stepping up its policies for war and aggression and vigorously carrying out disruptive and sabotaging activities in an attempt to weaken and annihilate the socialist countries. Yet the modern revisionists represented by Yugoslavia, who answer the needs of imperialism, are hanging out a Marxist sign and doing their best to promote the bourgeois "peace theory" and "humanitarianism." They give lip service for capitalism; spread atomic terrors; confuse the basic meanings between revolution and counter-revolution, between socialism and capitalism and between just war and unjust war; promote the so-called "civilization" of imperialism; destroy the fighting will of the people; and paralyze the sense of vigilance of the people against the imperialist policies for war and aggression. The concept and world outlook of the bourgeois class are a basic ideological source for modern revisionism. As long as classes are still in existence and bourgeois political and ideological influences still remain, modern revisionism will still be able to develop a certain influence.

Particularly under the present new situation when technical innovation and technical revolution, cultural revolution and people's communes have universally developed and when socialist revolution has been further entrenched on every front, we must broaden the position of Marxism-Leninism and Mao Tse-tung's thought in every field and maintain a high rate of leap forward in our national economy by raising still higher the revolutionary banners of Marxism-Leninism and Mao Tse-tung's thought and using them as a weapon to completely expose and smash the imperialist and modern revisionist intrigues and irradiate the poisonous modern revisionist influence on the people. We must wage a bitter struggle to carry the socialist revolution through

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to the end on the political-ideological front. The more thorough this struggle is to be carried out, the higher the Communistic consciousness of the people will be raised and the faster and better the cause of socialist construction will develop.

The Fourth Volume of Mao Tse-tung's Selected Works has been published. Its publication is a great event as it attaches a great historical significance and practical meaning to the political life of the Chinese people. The present foremost task for the whole Party on the political-ideological front is to launch a vigorous campaign to study the Fourth Volume of Mao Tse-tung's Selected Works, promoting a new upsurge for a mass study of Marxism-Leninism and Chairman Mao's works and the theoretical application of dialectical materialism to practical struggles.

In the course of our studies, special emphasis must be placed on the most determined and most thorough character of proletarian revolution as demonstrated by Comrade Mao Tse-tung's boldness in waging struggles and in seizing victories, on Comrade Mao Tse-tung's Marxist theory and policy that have led the revolution to victory in the extremely tortuous and complex struggle, on Comrade Mao Tse-tung's research on Marxist world view and methodology which he has used to guide the Chinese revolution, and on Comrade Mao Tse-tung's concept of slighting the enemy strategically while taking full account of him tactically.

All this constitutes a soul and a leader to our work, is a beacon that guides us to successfully carry out socialist revolution and socialist construction as well as building of Communism, and represents the most powerful weapon for our struggles against modern revisionism, right opportunism and all other bourgeois thought. By virtue of this study, we will be able to further raise the Communistic consciousness of the whole Party and all people, to bolster our struggles against modern revisionism, right opportunism and all other bourgeois thought, to establish our Communist world view and to further accelerate the development of socialist revolution and socialist construction with the greatest revolutionary vigor combined with scientific analysis.

We must constantly maintain our high degree of political awakening in the struggle against the enemies. In the past, we had already dealt a severe blow to our enemies who are becoming weaker and weaker and coming to their doom. Yet it must be realized that with the continuous penetration of socialist revolution, it is natural for a small number of counterrevolutionary die-hards to take advantage of some of our gaps and carry out disruptive activities. For this

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reason, it is necessary for us to continuously solidify and bolster the proletarian dictatorship, to maintain our high degree of revolutionary vigilance constantly and to overcome our inertia; we must not relax for a moment our struggle for defending our motherland and safeguarding the cause of socialist construction and never relax for a minute our struggle against the enemy; instead, we must wage a struggle against all accidents that endanger public security and carefully carry out the good work of organizing militia.

Newspapers, periodicals and radio broadcasts are powerful media which our Party employs on the ideological front to educate the masses in socialism and communism and in waging the struggle against bourgeois thought. Our newspapers, periodicals and radio broadcasts must possess the fighting character of the proletarian class. They must promote and cultivate new products of communism, genuinely publicize the progressive figures and progressive thoughts; strongly attack and smash bourgeois thought, widely circulate and explain Party programs and policies and arouse the masses to respond to the Party's call with practical action. Party committees of all levels should direct their full attention to utilizing newspapers and radio broadcasts for promoting their work.

Since the young generation is the future successor of the Party's revolutionary enterprises, it is very important for the future of communism to cultivate our youngsters politically. In this respect, the Young Communist League, an assistant arm of the Party giving Communist education to the youths, has an important duty. In the past, the Young Communist League has done much work on educating the young generation under the direction of the Party; it must continuously further educate the young generation in communism in the future, cultivate their Communist moral character, and train and raise their sense of judgement so that they know how to distinguish clearly who is our enemy and between right and wrong.

2. Further Strengthen the Party's Organizational Structure, Fully Develop the Central Leading Role of Party Organizations At Various Levels, Further Improve Leadership Style and Leadership Level

Our municipal Party organization and the rank and file of cadres have developed and grown rapidly during the past two years. As a result of a series of important political and production campaigns in the past two years, a large number of tested activists has emerged from the various fronts.

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There is still a need now and in the future for promoting and selecting outstanding cadres, particularly cadres from the ranks of workers, peasants and women, and in admitting new Communist members in accordance with the policy of building the Party actively and carefully. This should genuinely further strengthen the Party organizational structure, raise the communistic consciousness of Party members still higher, further strengthen the leadership of basic level Party branches, and fully develop the fighting role of basic level Party branches in serving the cause of socialist revolution and socialist construction.

In the past two years, the style of leadership shown by the Party committees and cadres at various levels in Sian has greatly improved. Particularly since the beginning of 1960, a great majority of leading cadres at various levels have penetrated into the grass roots and become more practical with their work. They have gone into the first line of production where they eat, live, work and discuss together with the masses, direct operations and solve the concrete problems, thus enabling many phases of work to proceed in a more practical and active manner.

However, it must be realized that while the situation is moving toward a "leap," it is necessary for us to improve the style of leadership and work methods continuously. The way to improve the style of leadership and to raise the level of leadership while overcoming conceit and raising consciousness lies mainly on the efforts of the leading cadres at various levels to become more practical and to conduct more serious investigations and research and to improve the work on summation of experiences. Failing to do this, it will be impossible to improve either the work style and leadership level or to gain an understanding of and to grasp the objective law of socialist revolution and socialist construction.

It should be observed that in the process of development of a "leap" in socialist construction, old and outmoded matters and things are being continuously suppressed while new matters and things develop unceasingly. If we are going to carry out the Party general line properly and to become a promoter of revolutionary enterprises, then we must follow Chairman Mao's concept of unceasing revolution by continuously learning from the masses and by unceasingly making investigations and research and summing up experiences and never allowing our thoughts to lapse into idleness and become complacent over what we already have learned and acquired.

The entire Party must vigorously encourage and promote the revolutionary style in the Yenan Period, that is, to work hard, be practical and frugal, and capable of enduring

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hardship. This is Marxist-Leninist work style and a fine revolutionary tradition of our Party. We must be determined to overcome arrogance and complacency, formalism, individualism and right conservatism--all of which represent an impure Party character that deviates from the practicality and the masses; we must rigorously strengthen the training of Party character and the teaching of Party discipline and wage a determined struggle against all those that violate the Party discipline.

Leading cadres at various levels must immediately penetrate into the first line of production and strengthen leadership and devote more genuine efforts towards practical tasks, conducting more investigations and research, and taking more concrete measures. The first line of production is a practice field for developing production, and penetration into the first line production means going into the workshops, production units, work sections, and work teams. Only by penetrating into practicality and going among the masses can we establish a close tie between the Party leadership and the masses and truly avoid bureaucratic practices. The matter of sending leading cadres to the first line of production is not simply a question of changing their fields of command; rather, it is a question involving the important principle in connection of leadership style and leadership method as set forth in Marxism-Leninism and in Mao Tse-tung's thought. We must resolutely uphold and carry out this principle through to the end.

When penetrating into the first line of production, attention must be directed to the method of "grasping two ends and supporting the center." This means that we should grasp the weak links in the advanced units and grasp the factors for improvement in the backward units. We should go to the backward areas and backward units first to find out and solve their problems in order to change their backward outlook completely. While penetrating ourselves into the first line of production, we must insist on eating, living, working, consulting with the masses and work as an ordinary laborer among the masses and lead them to advance forward.

The various hsien and ch'u must faithfully follow the "two-five system" or the "three-seven" system to carry out their work and assign not less than 80 percent of their functionaries on rotation to the first line; the leading organizations at municipal level must also formulate their concrete plans for execution in accordance with the "three-three" system adopted by the Provincial Party Committee.

Party organizations at various levels must make an unified arrangement of production, work and study schedules

and livelihood of the masses in accordance with the various directives of the Party Central Committee and Provincial Party Committee and on the basis of the principle of "grasping production with one hand and grasping livelihood with the other hand" and of "combining work with rest." They must adopt effective measures to prevent fire, injuries and traffic accidents and to assure safe production. Since the question of work and rest and safe production not only concerns the art of leadership and the mass viewpoint but also has a direct bearing on the protection of productive forces, continuous improvement of labor efficiency and perpetuation of the leap forward in production, it must be treated as an important political task to be carried out and be included in the Party conference agenda for frequent reviews and improvements.

Comrades: The present internal and international situation is extremely favorable. Our Sian Shih, like the rest of the province, has whipped up a new upsurge of developing grain and steel production on a mass scale with the emergence of a new situation in industrial and agricultural production. Under the direct guidance of the Provincial Party Committee, our Party organizations in Sian Shih must unite still closer; implement the Party general line for socialist construction and the policy of walking with two legs more thoroughly; raise still higher the red banner of Mao Tse-tung's thought; raise still higher the three glorious red banners of general line, the big leap forward and the people's communes; further develop our fine revolutionary tradition of being able to endure hardship and work hard to develop ourselves; and muster our surging revolutionary vigor to strive for still greater victories.

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ON READING "SPEECH AT THE CONFERENCE OF CADRES IN
THE SHANSI-SUIYUAN LIBERATED AREAS"

[Following is the translation of an article
by Kung Tung-wen published in Hupei Jih-pao,
Wuhan, 15 October 1960, page 2.]

The Fourth Volume of Mao Tse-tung's Selected Works is a record of the great victory of the Chinese people's revolutionary struggle in the Third Civil Revolutionary War. This victory represents the victory of the Party line, the victory of Mao Tse-tung's military concept, and more so the victory of Mao Tse-tung's concept of policies. His concept of policies is considered in sequence in the various volumes of Mao Tse-tung's Selected Works and in his article "On Policy," a classic work dealing with policies and strategies published in the Second Volume; but his "Speech at the Conference of Cadres in the Shansi-Suiyuan Areas" provides a more comprehensive description of the Party's general line and general policy, its concrete line and specific policy.

Policy and Strategy Are Life of the Party

In April 1945, just before the capitulation of the Japanese aggressor, Comrade Mao Tse-tung in his article "On China's Two Destinies" pointed out: "We are in need of a correct policy as a basic point to start mobilizing the masses and bolstering the people's strength for defeating the aggressor and building a New China under the leadership of our Party." He also pointed out that the general line and general policy of our people during the period of the New Democratic Revolution should be: "a popular revolution led by the proletarian class against imperialism, feudalism and bureaucratic capitalism."

In accordance with this general line and general policy, the Party Central Committee and Comrade Mao Tse-tung formulated the concrete line and policies for the various phases of work and repeatedly emphasized the seriousness and the unified nature of such policies. He has taught us:

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"Only by putting the Party policy and strategy on the right track can there possibly be victory for the Chinese revolution. Policy and strategy are the life of the Party, and leading comrades at various levels must pay their full attention and must not by any mean become careless about it." He was determined to stop certain lawless and anarchic practices, such as "those who make unauthorized changes of the Central or higher Party committee's policy and strategy and execute the kind of extremely harmful policy and strategy, which they think are right, in violation of the unified will and unified law and order, and those who adopt the erroneous attitude not to ask for instructions and to make no report of what they do or did under the pretext that they are very busy with their work and who treat their administered area as an independent state."

Precisely because our Party carried out its correct policy, we were able to form the widest possible united front under the leadership of our Party, thus completely isolating US imperialism and its lackey, the Chiang Kai-shek reactionary bloc. In less than four years, during which time the people's force had continuously grown from defensive to offensive while the enemy force dwindled from offensive to defeat, we succeeded in translating the slogan of "Overthrow Chiang Kai-shek and Liberate All of China" into a reality; thus, the Chinese people who had long suffered oppression and enslavement finally stood up and emerged from their humiliation and took an honored position.

Formulate Policy on Class Definition, Unite Over
Ninety Percent of the Population, Reduce the
Area of Fighting

The Party's general line and general policy during the New Democratic Revolution were adopted by the Party Central Committee and Comrade Mao Tse-tung in accordance with the revolutionary character and mission for the duration of the New Democratic Revolution. The revolutionary character in the period of the New Democratic Revolution was still a democratic revolution, not a socialist revolution. However, its leadership must be assumed by the Chinese Communist Party because only the CCP leadership could genuinely carry out the democratic revolution through to the end and later transform it into socialist revolution. The task of the New Democratic Revolution was to oppose imperialism, feudalism and bureaucratic capitalism, and the enemies to be overthrown in this revolution were these three big elements. The concentrated expression of all these enemies

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was the reactionary regime of Chiang Kai-shek's Kuomintang. As a result of the Chiang Kai-shek reactionary regime's serious infringement on the rights of the people throughout the country, "the united front formed by the people taking part in this revolution became very broad as it included workers, peasants, self-employed handicraftsmen, professionals, intellectuals, the national bourgeoisie and a section of the enlightened gentry that had broken away from the landlord class." Those were what we meant at that time as the "masses of people."

Comrade Mao Tse-tung's analytical and distinct policy-making concept had been clearly reflected in its concrete application to the national united front against Japan. This was actually a dual policy on unity and struggle designed, as an example, "to unite with the Communist die-hards in so far as they are still willing to resist Japan and to isolate them in so far as they are determined to oppose communism, capable of fighting the Japanese while isolating their anti-Communist aspect."

Our policy was formulated on the basis of class distinction, drawing a line to distinguish the big landlord and big bourgeois class, the national bourgeois class, the middle and small land lords and the enlightened gentry. "The basic policy toward establishing mutual relations with the various classes at home is to develop progressive forces, win over the "middle roaders" and isolate the forces of the anti-Communist die-hards." Since the founding of the People's Republic of China, Comrade Mao Tse-tung has also divided the middle peasants into the new and old higher middle peasants and the new and old lower middle peasants and only opposed a group of rich middle peasants with an ideological tendency toward capitalism that would be handled as a contradiction among the rank and file of the people.

Comrade Mao Tse-tung paid particular attention to the formation of an extremely broad united front under the leadership of the proletariat and its political party (not under the leadership of the bourgeois class and its political party). This was expressed in his strategic concept of separating bureaucratic capitalism from the national bourgeoisie class, advocating the overthrow of bureaucratic capitalism while treating the national bourgeoisie as part of the masses of people; he even included a section of the enlightened gentry that had broken away from the landlord in the united front.

Moreover, he also divided the landlords into big, middle and small and separated the tyrants and non-tyrants among the landlords and rich peasants, did not encroached

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on industry and commerce owned by landlords and rich peasants, and adopted a lenient policy toward all persons except for punishing those extremely notorious counterrevolutionaries and local tyrants whose guilt was established by evidence and who were deeply hated by the masses. In so doing, the area of assault was reduced, the land reform program was assured smooth success and the people's liberation war was thus greatly strengthened.

In treating feudalism as an ally of imperialism and bureaucratic capitalism and its foundation of rule, Comrade Mao tse-tung decided that reform of the land system was an important part of the Chinese New Democratic Revolution and the most basic condition for supporting the protracted war at that time and attaining the nationwide victory. The way we completed the land reform program was not to have the government confiscate the land owned by landlords and divide it among the peasants "gratis;" instead, we used the method of motivating the masses in waging a struggle to settle accounts with the landlord class and to divide up land equally among themselves.

In the process of this struggle, Comrade Mao Tse-tung again pointed out the necessity of relying on the poor peasants to unite over 90 percent of the population and warned us not to forget: "...in the course of the land reform program, it is possible and absolutely necessary to unite about 92 percent of the total households in the rural area to organize a united front against the feudal system." He said: "The principal and direct task in land reform is to satisfy the demands of the masses of poor peasants." But "in land reform, it must unite with the middle peasants and the poor peasants must ally with the middle peasants who account for about 20 percent of the rural population to form a solid united front."

He said: "It must allow a section of middle peasants to retain comparatively larger land area than the average size of land distributed to the poor peasants. The reason we support the demand for equal distribution of land is for motivating the broad masses of peasantry to speedily eliminate the land ownership system of the feudal landlord class, and we do not by any means advocate absolute equalitarianism. Those who advocate absolute equalitarianism are wrong. Now, there is a prevailing thought in the rural area which is destructive toward industry and commerce and which advocates absolute equalitarianism on land distribution; such thinking, which is reactionary in nature and backward, must be criticized."

Later, practice proved that the allowance given the

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middle peasants to retain a larger land area not only helped unite the middle peasants in wiping out the feudal exploiting system during the land reform but also accelerated the development of agricultural production following the elimination of the feudal system. And "the direct objective of land reform is for the development of agricultural production."

Fulfill the Revolutionary Task In Accordance
with the Concrete Conditions and Policy By Areas
and By Steps

Comrade Mao Tse-tung has pointed out: "The general line of land reform is to rely on the poor peasants and unite the middle peasants in wiping out the feudal exploiting system systematically and discriminatingly and in developing agricultural production. The basic force which the land reform relies on must come from the poor peasants and nothing else." While the reliance on poor peasants was our class line, it must also unite with the middle peasants. However, if we were to eliminate the feudal exploiting system, we should have a systematic scheme which was a strategy. But strategy was to be mapped out in accordance with the concrete conditions, and this was why "the strategy on launching the struggle must be decided when circumstances permit and in accordance with the degree of consciousness of the masses of peasantry and the extent of their organization; it must not attempt to wipe out the entire feudal exploiting system in a hurry."

Comrade Mao Tse-tung's strategic concept was reflected in his operating method to take advantage of the local factors under the varying local conditions and in his systematic way of operations to proceed from different stages. Areas were divided into old and new areas with the old areas being further divided into old and semi-old liberated areas and the new areas being further divided into sections. With respect to the policy on new areas, he directed: "we should concentrate on those occupied areas that can be consolidated to suitably carry out the land reform program demanded by the local masses; whereas in those occupied areas which are not easily consolidated for the time being we should not proceed with the land reform program hastily and instead do some other work beneficial to the local people until conditions have changed. By different stages, we mean that after the People's Liberation Army has occupied an area, it should propose and implement the policy of neutralizing the rich peasants and neutralizing the middle and small landlords so as to reduce the area of attacks and to only limit ourselves to wiping out the reactionary Kuomintang armed forces, and

striking at the local tyrants and evil gentry." That was the first stage.

"Afterwards, the stage of completely wiping out the entire feudal system will take place gradually in accordance with the rising consciousness and organization of the masses." But "the so-called wiping out the feudal system separately means that we must separate the landlords from the rich peasants, divide the landlords into big, middle and small and separate the evil elements from the non-evil elements among the landlords and rich peasants. Under the principle of wiping out the feudal exploiting system, equal distribution of land is not to treat every one the same but discriminatingly reward the different individuals in accordance with their different conditions. And by doing this way, the people will appreciate that what we do is right and reasonable."

The basic function of the leading organs is to understand the situation and grasp the policy. "To decide on a work program in accordance with the practical conditions is the basic work method which all Communist members must always remember." Precisely because we were able to proceed from practically, distinguish the different conditions in the different areas, adopt different programs and policies, and follow stage by stage and step by step in completing our revolutionary tasks, we had smoothly achieved the great victory of land reform on a nationwide scale.

The Theory On Unceasing Revolution and the Theory
on the Stages of Revolutionary Development Provide
A Guiding Thought for Formulating Policy

Any matter or thing is bound to go through a series of concrete courses during the entire process of its development, and it develops from stage to stage in accordance with the characteristics of various concrete courses. When we take up any important revolutionary task, we must discuss steps and divide it into stages. Our first step means the preparation for the second step, while the second step is a continuation and development of the first step. When we reach the first step, we must look and prepare for the next step.

Comrade Mao Tse-tung has pointed out: "In the struggle of wiping out the feudal system, we must devote all our efforts to preserving all usable means of production and means of livelihood, adopt measures against any one who destroys and squanders the means of production and the means of livelihood, oppose those who indulge in heavy eating, and pay

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attention to economy." His aim was to carry out the second step expeditiously following the elimination of the feudal system, liberated production forces and stimulated the production enthusiasm of over 90 percent of the population, then we would have failed to lay a foundation for our second step.

The land reform program for the new areas also followed the same procedure. Had we had not gone through the first phase of work by raising the level of consciousness of the masses (not just the level of consciousness of a minority of progressive elements alone) and the level of their organization, it could never have been able to proceed to the second phase of wiping out the entire feudal system. This was based on the same principle that it would be impossible to reach the transitional stage of socialism without going through the stage of seizing political power by the proletariat.

Similarly, the work on organizing the peasantry and developing agricultural production follows a course of development. At first, we organized mutual aid teams and developed them into agricultural producers cooperatives. There were two steps in the organization of agricultural cooperatives: the first step was to set up the elementary level agricultural producers cooperatives whose members retained their land ownership and received dividend from their shares in the cooperative, and the second step was to establish the high-level agricultural producers cooperatives when the level of consciousness of the masses were raised and when other concrete conditions were ready. Later, because the degree of consciousness of the masses was further raised and because of the further demand of development of production, then our Party started organizing universally the present people's communes in the rural area based on the creativeness of the masses.

Of course, the present people's commune, like the mutual aid team in the past, has its own course of development from lower to higher level. Its course of development, shortened or accelerated, must not be reduced by doing away with certain steps or certain concrete phases, and it must mainly rely on our correct implementation of the Party policy. All in all, the theory on unceasing revolution and the theory on stages of revolutionary development provide one of the important ideas for guiding the formulation of policies.

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Deliver the Policy to the Mass; Cadres and
Masses Implement the Policy Together

In accordance with Mao Tse-tung's concept of integrating the universal truth of Marxism and Leninism with the concrete practice of Chinese revolution, our Party has correctly formulated the general line and general policy in the various periods and adopted the strategic principles and concrete policies for the different phases of work. The Party general line, program and policy express the public opinion and follow the long-term, over-all, local and practical interests of the masses. Therefore, after the Tsun-i Conference [in January 1935 to establish Mao Tse-tung as leader of the CCP], the wide support we gained from the broad masses for our Party general line and policy enabled us to win the great victory of the Third Civil Revolutionary War, while Chiang Kai-shek's Kuomintang was isolated from the masses because of their policy which originated from its true class character contrary to the interests of the people and was eventually forced to escape to Taiwan.

Precisely because our policy is in conformity with the public interests, "our policy must be made known not only to the leaders and cadres but also to the masses." And "when the masses know the truth and have a common objective, they will carry it out with a joint effort." Not only must we publicize the beautiful future which is in store for us but we must employ suitable language and style to propagate our existing policy among the masses to enable them to join us in carrying it out.

But Party policy is sometimes misunderstood and not accepted by some people. Take the policy on lenient treatment towards the prisoners of war as an example. Some people have failed to realize that the soldiers of the Kuomintang are peasants who have been "forcibly impressed" into the service. Therefore, after they have been taken prisoner and given class education (airing grievances), they would quickly join us and fight against the Kuomintang. Those who fail to think clearly about our policy should be given full explanations. Our main source for military expansion during the Liberation War came from the battle front and from the soldiers delivered by the Kuomintang. This has proved the enormous power of the policy on lenient treatment toward prisoners of war. If anyone still fails to see his way through, then we should ask him to obey the Party discipline in order to maintain our unified action. Discipline is to guarantee the organized execution of policy.

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It Is a Question of Taking a Stand Whether We
Are Serious Enough To Consider The Party Policy;
We Must Genuinely Carry Out the Party Policy

While the Party general line and general policy direct the courses of our action, their concrete lines and policies represent a yard stick to guide our action. Whatever the revolutionary task or action that a cadre undertakes, he is actually carrying out a certain policy which may or may not be a correct one. The correct policy is beneficial to revolution while the erroneous policy is harmful to revolution. While the imperialists and modern revisionists are using every means at their disposal to attack and slander our correct policy, they are happy to see that we will make mistakes in our policy. Therefore, the question of implementing the Party policy is also a question of stand or position which every cadre--particularly the leading cadre--maintains, and "we take the stand for the proletarian class and the masses of people."

As far as the Communist members are concerned, "they must uphold the Party's stand, its position and its stand on policy." Of course, there still may be errors even if we have made a detailed study and considerable deliberations before we decide on doing something. However, as facts have proved, we are able to correct the errors once we have found that the results are not satisfactory by the spirit of self-criticism, by reviewing our experiences and by making a serious study and research into our policy and methods. And this is the only attitude to express the correct stand.

Policy is formulated by theoretical guidance, but it also enriches and develops theory. Many articles in Lenin's Complete Works deal with policies and strategies; in fact, some policies are themselves theories. Some text books become empty and abstract because they completely separate theories from policies. Because theories or policies represent a compass to direct military actions, it is an obvious mistake for some cadres to devote little attention to the study of theories or policies. Only through a serious effort to study and learn can we consciously grasp theories and policies in Marxism-Leninism.

The Fourth Volume of Mao Tse-tung's Selected Works which contains extremely valuable materials is a great contribution to the development of Marxism-Leninism. There are many theories in the volume that have a universal meaning. For instance, "Slighting the Enemy Strategically While Taking Full Account of Him Tactically" holds an impregnable and unchallengable principle. We must realize that when

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we study and investigate those principles and laws, we should correlate them in our thought with the practical history of the time and review the various concrete policies at that time; by reading again and by thinking over again, we will gain better comprehension and become more and more enlightened. Our comrades, what do you think of it? Since we have not yet gained an over-all comprehension of Comrade Mao Tse-tung's thought, I would like to discuss this problem with you in the course of our further studies.

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ON FURTHER READING AND FURTHER THINKING

[Following is the translation of an article by Wang Jen-chung published in Hupei Jih-pao, Wuhan, 14 October 1960, page 1.]

The publication of the Fourth Volume of Mao Tse-tung's Selected Works is a great event in the political life of our Party and our people. The volume contains a number of articles and directives written and drafted by Comrade Mao Tse-tung for the Party Central Committee or the Military Council; they were once secret documents to be circulated only to higher level Party organs and leading cadres and not for publication. Now, the publication of these extremely important documents is really a happy event for those who are interested in studying Mao Tse-tung's thought and who have an opportunity to read them. Although I have read before most of the articles published in the Fourth Volume it has given me more and more pleasure when I read them all over again, as each article induces one's deep thought, enlivens his mind, enhances his consciousness, stimulates his fighting will and bolsters his strength.

Reading the Fourth Volume of Mao Tse-tung's Selected Works enables us to grasp how the Party Central Committee headed by Comrade Mao Tse-tung brilliantly led the Chinese people to the victory of the new democratic revolution--a victory of Marxism-Leninism in China and a victory of Mao Tse-tung's thought; it also tells us that the study of Mao Tse-tung's stand, viewpoint and methods on analyzing problems, his methods of directing work programs and his art of leadership in Marxism-Leninism has an urgent and real meaning attached to our socialist revolution and socialist construction. Therefore, we should use the method of reading and thinking until we reach the aim of combining study with practice and of being able to use what we have learned.

Comrade Mao Tse-tung's evaluation of the international situation in the Fourth Volume of his selected works has been proven accurate and correct by events of more than a decade and will be continuously proved by the future development and changes in the international situation. In dealing

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With Chiang Kai-shek's reactionary policy of persistent dictatorial rule and civil war, Comrade Mao Tse-tung decided that "our policy is a blow for blow and fight for every inch of soil." (Fourth Volume of Mao Tse-tung's Selected Works, page 1,126). The policy of blow for blow is the only correct measure for all revolutionists and people in waging a struggle against the reactionary clique.

We must adopt the blow for blow policy in dealing with US imperialism that is bent on becoming an enemy of the Chinese people; we must not entertain any illusion about imperialism and all reactionaries and must not hope that they may have a change of heart. "Since the policy of the reactionary force toward the people's democratic force is to annihilate it when it can and to prepare to liquidate it in the future when it cannot do so for the time being, the people's democratic force adopts a similar policy toward the reactionary force." (Fourth Volume of Mao Tse-tung's Selected Works, pages 1,181 and 1,182)

In his article "On People's Democratic Dictatorship," Comrade Mao Tse-tung advocated: "The way we should 'treat a person's behavior by his own principle' is that we take the principle used by imperialism and its lackey, the Chiang Kai-shek reactionary clique, and returned it back to them." (Fourth Volume of Mao Tse-tung's Selected Works, page 1,483) This was Comrade Mao Tse-tung's application and development of his theory on proletarian revolution and proletarian dictatorship derived from Marxist-Leninist scientific method on class analysis.

Comrade Mao Tse-tung's thought toward guiding the Third Civil Revolutionary War has not only effected a real meaning on the struggle of the people in the various countries against imperialism and its lackey but also on the course of socialist construction in our country. His other concept on slighting the enemy strategically while taking full account of him tactically and on mustering a superior force to wipe out the enemy piecemeal can also and must be applied to the field of socialist economic construction.

In his "Report at the Second Plenary Session of the Seventh Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party" delivered on the eve of the nationwide victory of the revolutionary war, Comrade Mao Tse-tung formulated the program and policy for economic construction during the transitional period and pointed out the bright future of rapid development of our national economy: "The rate of speed in China's economic construction will not be very slow any more but will be quite fast, and we may count that China will become prosperous by the days." (page 1,435) He said: "We are not skillful

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in destroying an old world but are also capable of building a new one. The Chinese have not only stop begging the imperialists for existence but will live better than those in the imperialist countries." (Page 1,440).

The practice of our socialist construction has completely proved the correctness of Comrade Mao Tse-tung's scientific prediction, for the outlook of our utter poverty has changed rapidly in the 11 years of national construction. Under the brilliant leadership of the Party Central Committee and Comrade Mao Tse-tung, we have basically completed the socialist revolution and have built a string of modern industrial bases, laying a foundation for building our country into a powerful socialist nation with modern industry, modern agriculture and modern science and culture.

While holding high the three red banners in our advance, we must further study Comrade Mao Tse-tung's thought of taking full account of the enemy tactically (emphasizing difficulties) and must refrain from being arrogant and rash and be careful and humble; we must carefully inspect and review the progress of our work in order to promote our achievements and correct our mistakes; we must recognize the fact that we are just a little school boy in the field of economic construction, and that many cadres still lack the knowledge and experience in production; we must follow what Comrade Mao Tse-tung taught us to do: "We must learn economic work from all the experts (regardless of who they are), ask them to be teachers and study attentively and conscientiously; if we do not know, we should say so and do not pretend we know it, and must not express any bureaucratic air." (page 1,485).

Unfortunately, there is a small number of comrades who have forgotten the teachings of the Party and Comrade Mao Tse-tung. They have become conceited once they have made a little progress and think they are always right when they only know half of it; they refuse to make detailed investigation and research and do things according to their subjective view, and therefore they cannot avoid hitting their head on the blank wall and become a failure. Production is a science, and it must be treated in a scientific way. To reap what one has sown is an example for those who maintain the impractical subjective view, which will certainly cause losses in production.

Although we have achieved an unprecedented success in the fields of industry, communications, water conservancy and capital construction during the past several years, we have in some cases stretched the line too long and scattered our manpower and material resources too far, thus causing

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delays in putting some capital construction items into operation on schedule. This is "more", but slow. Therefore, to thoroughly carry out the Party and Comrade Mao Tse-tung's socialist general line for building more, faster, better and more economically, it is absolutely necessary to follow the concept of "mustering a superior force to wipe out the enemy piecemeal" in carrying out our work. Factories must be built one by one or group by group and reservoirs must be reconstructed one by one or group by group. Under the conditions of mustering our full vigor, it is also necessary to do things according to our ability. In other words, we must have a definite plan, not going about aimlessly without a basis.

Let us correctly apply Comrade Mao Tse-tung's thought on "slighting the enemy strategically and taking full account of him tactically" and on "mustering a superior force to wipe out the enemy piecemeal" to socialist construction and we will undoubtedly attain still greater victories.

(Author's note: This article is composed of notes from my reading the Fourth Volume of Mao Tse-tung's Selected Works. I am still planning to write a few more articles to exchange thoughts with our comrades.)

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THE PHILOSOPHY OF NEVER LOSING A WAR

[Following is a translation of an editorial from Frontline Semimonthly (Ch'ien-hsien Pan-yueh-k'an) carried in Pei-ching Jih-pao, Peiping, 10 October 1960, pages 1 and 4.]

The concept of Comrade Mao Tse-tung, the great leader of the Chinese people and a great Marx-Leninist, has been fully proved as an invincible revolutionary theory by the practice of the protracted revolution in China. The recent publication of the Fourth Volume of Mao Tse-tung's Selected Works, a collection of Comrade Mao Tse-tung's important writings during the Third Civil Revolutionary War, has again supported this truth. Like the rest of Comrade Mao Tse-tung's work and the history of the Chinese revolution, the Fourth Volume of Mao Tse-tung's Selected Work, and the history of the Third Civil Revolutionary War in China have abundantly explained that the concept of Mao Tse-tung is the only correct compass which has guided the Chinese revolution to complete victory.

Mao Tse-tung's concept has become so invincible because of his ability in applying the universal truth of Marxism to the practical conditions in China with subsequent enrichment and development of Marxism. As Lenin pointed out, "the reason that Marxist theory is all-powerful is its correctness." Precisely because of Comrade Mao Tse-tung's correct application of Marxist world view -- that is, his application of dialectical materialism as an instrument in observing China's destiny -- this has enabled him to successfully solved the problems involving the Chinese revolution and construction. Comrade Mao Tse-tung has emphasized the practice of theory, strongly stressing the great role of revolutionary view and revolutionary theory in the guidance of practice. He has not only further expounded the importance of application of dialectical materialism to the practical tasks throughout his writings but has also set a lofty example by his own activities on guiding the Chinese revolution through practice and theory.

The further we read the Fourth Volume of Mao Tse-tung's Selected Works, the more we appreciate Comrade Mao Tse-tung's

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firm stand on proletarian revolution, his skillful application of Marxist world view and methodology which has enabled him to combine the spirit of thorough revolution with the subtle and ingenious art of struggle in greatly motivating the revolutionary fighting will of the people, and his rich revolutionary knowledge and wisdom which has guided the people to attain new victories unceasingly.

From the Fourth Volume of Mao Tse-tung's Selected Works, we can observe how Comrade Mao Tse-tung has correctly employed dialectical materialism to analyze the development of class relationships in the various periods and decide the revolutionary tasks by ascertaining the principal contradictions of the time. He has continuously exposed the reactionary character of the enemy and his various intrigues and has mapped plans for struggle diametrically pointed at the enemy. Strategically, he has employed the two hands of revolution to fight the two hands of counterrevolution, while strategically slighting the enemy and tactically taking full account of him. With his correct analysis of the attitudes of the people in the various classes and strata, he has formed the correct policy to mobilize and unite the forces of the people for the complete overthrow of the reactionary clique.

Comrade Mao Tse-tung has always placed special emphasis on using the class analytical method to set up revolutionary tasks and map out strategies and tactics. In the first article, "Analysis of the Classes in Chinese Society," published in the First Volume of Mao Tse-tung's Selected Works, Comrade Mao Tse-tung explicitly pointed out: "Who are our enemies, and who are our friends? This question is one of primary importance in the revolution." In the Fourth Volume, Comrade Mao Tse-tung not only has analyzed the basic class relationship during the entire period of People's Democratic Revolution but has also proposed new tasks and new methods of struggle with his timely and brilliant disclosure of the change in class contradictions during this important juncture of the revolution, thus expediently guiding the people to attain new victories.

In the Fourth Volume's first article entitled: "The Situation After the Victory of the Anti-Japanese War and Our Policy," Comrade Mao Tse-tung pointed out: "Now that the stage of Anti-Japanese War has passed, the new situation and task will be internal struggle. Chiang Kai-shek talks about national reconstruction," and what sort of national reconstruction is our immediate struggle. Whether we are going to build a new people's new democratic state under the leadership of the proletarian class or a semicolonial and semifeudal state under the dictatorship of the big landlords and big bourgeoisies

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will become a highly complex struggle." In other words, after the contradiction between the Chinese people and the Japanese aggressor had been basically resolved at that time, there arose a principal contradiction between the Chinese people and U.S. imperialism and its lackey--the Kuomintang. On the basis of this analysis, Comrade Mao Tse-tung set the over-all task for the Third Civil Revolutionary War.

In his report delivered at the Second Plenary Session of the Seventh CCP Central Committee in March 1949 on the eve of the complete victory of the Third Civil Revolutionary War, Comrade Mao Tse-tung brilliantly observed: "There were still two basic contradiction existing in China following the nationwide victory of the Chinese revolution and the solution of the land problem. The first was an internal one involving the contradiction between the working class and the bourgeois class, and the other was external involving the contradiction between China and imperialist countries." He then brilliantly mapped the plan for the transformation of the new democratic revolution into socialist revolution, set the basic course for the transformation of China from an agricultural to an industrial nation, and formed the basic concept of the general line during the transitional period in China.

Comrade Mao Tse-tung has employed the world view and methodology in dialectical materialism as a sharp instrument to dissect and strike at the enemy, as he always placed a great emphasis on analyzing the enemy in planning his policy and strategy. The Fourth Volume of Mao Tse-tung's Selected Works contains many of his extremely valuable discussions in this respect.

Comrade Mao Tse-tung has taught us: inasmuch as the enemy changes his tricks, the conditions of our struggle against the enemy also change; however, the basic reactionary character of the enemy would never change. This is the viewpoint on the unity of contradictions, and whether or not this viewpoint is well grasped, the important line of demarkation has been drawn between the revolutionary marxist and the "left" rightist opportunist.

In his article "The Situation and Our Policy After the Victory of the Anti-Japanese War" Comrade Mao Tse-tung said: "What is the Kuomintang like? When we look at its past, we know what it is in the present; when we look at both its past and present, we know what it is going to be in the future." In "Cast Away Illusions and Get Ready for Struggle," Comrade Mao Tse-tung wrote: "When we say that 'imperialism is ferocious' we mean that its nature will never change, that the imperialists will never lay down their cleavers, that they will never become buddhas till their doom."

In his essay "On People's Democratic Dictatorship," he also pointed out that as far as imperialism and its lackeys are concerned, "there will be no stimulation in them, and because they are reactionaries, it makes little difference whether they have any stimulation or not."

Precisely on the basis of his Marxist analysis, Comrade Mao Tse-tung has always taught the party cadres and masses to maintain the spirit of thorough revolution and has called on the people to wage a "tit for tat" struggle against the enemy. He has taught us not to be taken by any change in the enemy's strategy and tricks as changes in its nature. Therefore, we should never trust the enemy by its "sweet talk" and harbor any unrealistic, illusory ideas about our enemy; instead, we must use the two hands of revolution to deal with the two hands of counterrevolution, particularly concentrating all our efforts on building up the force of revolution to cope with the possibility that the situation might take a turn for the worst. This brilliant concept of Comrade Mao Tse-tung's has enabled the revolutionary forces of the Chinese people to cope with the intrigue of the U. S.-Chiang reactionary clique for offering a false "peace" while preparing for civil war and to wage a victorious struggle. Under the direction of Comrade Mao Tse-tung, our Party, united with the people throughout the country, not only struck a powerful blow on the politically isolated but also was in full preparedness when full-scale civil war broke out. His great concept will forever become a compass to guide the courses of our action.

From the unity of contradictions, the revolutionist has derived the concept of slighting the enemy strategically while taking full account of him tactically, to treat the enemy's dual character of being temporarily strong but actually weak and doomed. Whether or not this dual character of the reactionary clique is correctly recognized has become an important line of demarcation drawn between the real Marxist and the "left" rightwing opportunist.

Comrade Mao Tse-tung has firmly grasped the core of this dialectical method on unity of opposites and has derived the famed principle that "all reactionaries are paper tigers" from his scientific analysis of the objective development of things. The forces of revolution, like all other new things or matters which are developed from small to big, always face the enemy whose strength is far stronger than their own. If we fail to establish that the enemy of revolution is a paper tiger, from the trend of development and the very nature of the enemy, we will be destined to be eliminated and cannot reach any revolutionary determination or

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confidence in victory, nor can we have any basis of discussing revolution.

When the strength of revolution was still a weak flame during the Second Civil Revolutionary War, Comrade Mao Tse-tung already concluded that "a single spark may kindle a prairie fire." Precisely from this great revolutionary confidence built with scientific world view, he encouraged and led the Chinese people to use the great fire of revolution to raze the reactionary rule in China. During the Anti-Japanese War, he employed the same analytical method by pointing out that the temporarily powerful Japanese aggressor would be doomed to defeat; in the Third Civil Revolutionary War, he again scientifically predicted that the Kuomintang counter-revolutionary forces, backed by the world's number one imperialist country--the United States, would inevitably suffer defeat despite their superiority in both equipment and in the number of troops. It was quite clear that his concept played a decisive role in the victory of the Chinese people's revolutionary war.

To slight the enemy strategically does not mean to say that the enemy may also be neglected. The reactionary clique still has strength and is still ferocious and a man-eating tiger before it is wiped out. While the ultimate victory of revolution is an accumulation of many local victories, it is won through the tortuous course of complicated struggles, through the process from quantitative to qualitative changes, and through the course from partial qualitative to over-all qualitative changes. Therefore, particular attention must be paid to each local struggle and to the accumulation of quantitative changes in an effort to win every local struggle. Comrade Mao Tse-tung has taught us that it is tactically necessary to take full account of the enemy; in other words, in every local and specific struggle, we must adopt a careful attitude, study the arts of struggle and use the appropriate form of struggle to wipe out step by step.

The integration of "slighting the enemy strategically" with "taking full account of the enemy tactically" is one of Comrade Mao Tse-tung's basic concepts which has guided the people's revolutionary war and played a key role in guaranteeing its great victory. In his article "Some Important Problems of our Party's Present Policy," Comrade Mao Tse-tung said: "If we overestimate the strength of our enemies as a whole and hence do not dare to overthrow them and win victory, we shall be committing errors of Right opportunism. If in any particular situation or on any specific question we do not use caution, do not study carefully the art of struggle, do not devote all our effort to the battle and do not pay

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attention to winning over all the allies that should be won over (middle peasants, self-employed handicraftsmen and small traders, the middle bourgeoisie, students, teachers, professors and intellectuals in general, the ordinary government employees, the professionals and the enlightened gentry), we shall be committing errors of 'Left' opportunism". Thus, he exposed the basic source of opportunist thought by this important gnosiology and provided us with the new theoretical weapon for our struggle against opportunism.

Then, how should we go about winning tactical victories one by one? In this, we have also observed how Comrade Mao Tse-tung skillfully applied dialectical materialism. He pointed out the necessity of being able to transform our over-all strategical disadvantages, (numerically speaking) into tactical advantages through the operational method of "mustering an overwhelming force to wipe out the enemy piecemeal" with full preparedness for every battle while avoiding any fight for which we are unprepared and unsure.

In his article "The Present Situation and Our Tasks," Comrade Mao Tse-tung formulated the ten famous cardinal military principles which represented a summation of his experiences in mustering an overwhelming force to wipe out the enemy piecemeal and a great development of Marxist military science. Only by following Comrade Mao Tse-tung's military principles and operational method can we gradually change our strategical handicap into tactical superiority and gain a complete victory with the enemy running in the opposite direction until he suffers an all-out defeat.

When dialectical materialism was placed in the hands of Comrade Mao Tse-tung, it became an instrument for him to unite the people and to organize the revolutionary forces. During the Third Civil Revolutionary War, Comrade Mao Tse-tung formulated the revolutionary line by mobilizing and uniting over 90 percent of the population to overthrow the reactionary clique; established the people's democratic dictatorship led by the working class and based on the worker-peasant alliance as the political platform of people's revolution; adopted the various policies on land reform, protecting the national industry and commerce, and on the united front; and set up programs for reorganizing the Party and the army and strengthening discipline and collective leadership as well as a series of work methods. All these, without a single exception, were completely built around the world viewpoint of dialectical materialism and methodology.

All the policies formulated by Comrade Mao Tse-tung were ideological methods for analyzing the concrete contradictions on a practical basis. Take land reform as an example.

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Comrade Mao Tse-tung not only formulated the basic class line for agrarian reform but also tied it with the over-all situation of internal class struggle, adopting different policies and measures to meet the changing situation of class contradictions in the different periods and in the different rural villages; he not only demanded a strict distinction between the working people and the exploiting class but also called for differentiating the poor from the middle peasants among the working people; the landlords and rich peasants, the big, middle and small land lords; the new and old rich peasants; the despots and the non-despots among the landlords and rich peasants; the feudal exploitation committed by the landlords and rich peasants and the industry and business they operated, and so on. Only through this practical analysis of the specific contradiction, could there be any correct policies formulated for the purpose of uniting the people and isolating the enemy.

Also, Comrade Mao Tse-tung's analysis of national industry and commerce as appeared in his report to the Second Plenary Session of the Seventh CCP Central Committee and in other related documents was another example of his application of dialectical materialism to solving the question involving policy matters. In accordance with the concrete conditions in China and the dual character of the Chinese national bourgeoisie, he formulated the policy toward national industry and commerce, utilizing their initiative while restricting and reforming their activities; at the same time, he criticized the right-leaning opportunist view that capitalism could be left alone without restrictions and the "left" opportunist view that capitalism could be rapidly eliminated. This policy, entirely based on the practical situation in China, was completely correct, as it provided a concrete analysis on the specific problem. Where the opportunist view was concerned, it saw only one side of the national bourgeoisie and divorced itself from the practical conditions.

When studying Comrade Mao Tse-tung's works, we should study not only the various policies formulated by him, but through the study of these policies, we should go all the more into research of Comrade Mao Tse-tung's thorough application and development of the world view and methodology in dialectical materialism.

Mao Tse-tung's thought is great and profound. In the Fourth Volume of Mao Tse-tung's Selected Works alone, there is no adequate word which suitably describes how great and profound the new volume is. People need only look at the splendid victories of the great Chinese people's revolution and the new look of the Chinese society and they will be able to appreciate

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the greatness of Mao Tse-tung's thought. The meanings of theory and practice in Comrade Mao Tse-tung's writings which dealt with the various historic periods contained in the Fourth Volume cannot be gauged. His thorough application and development of the world view and methodology in dialectical materialism have become an invincible philosophy which has led the Chinese people to great victory in the past stage of revolution and is now leading the Chinese people to march forward triumphantly along the road of socialist construction.

During the 11 years, Comrade Mao Tse-tung has also greatly developed Marx-Leninist theory. In the course of our socialist construction, we have the three red banners--general line for socialist construction, big leap forward and people's communes--built on Mao Tse-tung's thought to lead us forward continuously. While Mao Tse-tung's thought represents a complete system, the only way to gain a full comprehension and a firm grasp of it is to study all his important works in the different periods.

In the Fourth Volume of Mao Tse-tung's Selected Works, there is an inexhaustible source of wisdom and strength as manifested in Comrade Mao Tse-tung's spirit of thorough and determined revolution, his strategy and tactics for defeating the enemy, and his revolutionary world viewpoint and methodology. Under the conditions that imperialism still exists and internal class struggle still remains and occasionally becomes sharpened, the class analytical method that Comrade Mao Tse-tung has taught us and examples which he has drawn have forever set a clear and proper course for us in the complex international and internal class struggles.

In the course of our struggle against imperialism and its lackeys, the complete series of Comrade Mao Tse-tung's theories dealing with the true character of the reactionary clique and his logic of all reactionaries being "disrupt, fail, again disrupt, again fail, and so on till doom," and his strategy and tactics of struggle against the enemy have become our sharpest weapon. Yet in the process of our socialist construction, we must integrate the mustering of surging vigor with scientific analysis, skillfully muster our strength to tackle the principal tasks and overcome whatever difficulties that may come in our way with the spirit of "slighting the enemy strategically while taking full account of him tactically."

In sum, we should all follow Mao Tse-tung's thought as a yardstick in dealing with both international and internal problems. Comrade Mao Tse-tung's thought of formulating correct policies according to the objective conditions, his work methods, his complete mobilization of the masses, and

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formation of a broad united front represent an invincible weapon in the course of our struggles for uniting the peoples throughout the world against imperialism and its lackeys and for uniting the people throughout our country for building socialism. It may be concluded that by studying the Fourth Volume of Mao Tse-tung's Selected Works, we will certainly gain a better comprehension of Mao Tse-tung's thought, raise the banner of Mao Tse-tung's thought still higher, and achieve still greater victories in socialist construction and in our struggle against imperialism.

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UNDER THE TRAPPINGS OF MEDIATION

[Following is a translation of an article by Major General Tseng Weng-ya (曾雍雅) in Liaoning Jih-pao, Mukden, 22 October 1960, page 7.]

The world famous "An-ping Incident" took place in Hsiang-ho Hsien, Hopei Province, on 29 July 1946. At that time, the Chiang Kai-shek Government, in collusion with its American master, had exploited the incident as a pretext for launching a heavy attack against our liberated area. As a former sub-military district commander at the place where the incident had occurred, I knew the truth of the "An-ping Incident" very well, as it was a notorious record of the US-Chiang's trick of using peace as a pretense for starting a real war.

When I received information on the joint US-Chiang attack against An-ping by telephone, I immediately reported the case to the military district commander and political commissar who in turn lodged a vigorous protest with the "Executive Headquarters at Peiping" against the criminal conduct of US armed intervention in Chinese domestic affairs--demanding that the US forces must offer apologies and compensation to our side, punish those officers directly involved, and guarantee there would be no reoccurrence of similar incidents and that the Military Mediation Headquarters must conduct an impartial investigation immediately and make disposition.

As a matter of fact, since the landings of American troops at Ch'in-huang-tao and T'ang-ku ports, a series of provocations and harassing attacks had taken place within our liberated area in Eastern Hopei. Just five days before the An-ping Incident, we released seven armed American soldiers who had raided Liu-shou-ying in Ch'ang-li Hsien, and Gen Rockey and Gen Torrey, Commander and Deputy Commander of the US Marines in China went to the Military Mediation Headquarters at Peiping to apologize and thank Gen Yeh Chien-ying (), member of the Chinese Communist Party, and personally assured him that there would be no similar violations in the future. But only five days later, a US Marine

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patrol intruded into our sub-military district at An-ping Chen. At that time, every one of us was very indignant at the unruly conduct of the US military force and its breach of promise and was ready to give it a merciless beating. But we held our patience because of the instructions from the Party Central Committee and Chairman Mao Tse-tung that we must obey the Armistice Agreement and wait for a reasonable settlement from the Military Mediation Headquarters at Peiping instead.

In my effort to maintain close contact with the development of the incident, I tried to rush to the scene of the incident at night. But when I reached Hsiang-ho Hsien, I discovered the US-Chiang troops already had occupied An-ping Chen and gained control of the Hopei Canal with their firing power. Unable to go further, I was compelled to hold up at Hsiang-ho Hsien and ordered our troops to be calm and cautious and to prevent the incident from developing further.

However, by morning of 4 August, the investigation team from the Executive Headquarters at Peiping had failed to arrive, and the US-Chiang Army had already shelled our military garrison more than once and its aircraft carried out indiscriminate bombings against our rear line. Meanwhile, the Kuomintang had amassed over 20,000 men under the support of the US Marines and the command of the American Military Advisory Group to launch a major three-pronged attack along a 43-li front in an attempt to capture Hsiang-ho Hsien.

This criminal act of the US-Chiang Army in violating the Armistice Agreement and invading our liberated area had not only exhausted the patience of our fighters but also aroused the indignation of the 1,500,000 people in the 14th Sub-Military District. Our Commanding Headquarters had received numerous letters from the people who volunteered to fight. The secretary of the Hsiang-ho Hsien Party Committee personally led a militia unit and demanded a chance to fight in self-defense and to teach the invaders a lesson. True, we could not just wait to be attacked, and Chairman Mao Tse-tung had told us before: "When others do not attack us, we will not bother them; but when others attack us, we will do likewise." Thus, under the active support of the broad masses our units in the Sub-Military District angrily returned the invading bandits with bullets and grenades and inflicted over 1,000 casualties on the US-Chiang Army during the initial stage of fighting.

After the outbreak of the An-ping Incident, our side had repeatedly cabled the Executive Headquarters at Peiping to send a mediation team. But the US-Chiang side refused

the request to the public. It was not until their "allied forces" had met with a counter blow in the battle field and after they had realized their failure in the military venture that they decided to dispatch a 25-man special team from the Executive Headquarters at Peiping to Hsiang-ho Hsien on 21 August to "intercede in" the incident. Yet despite the ignoble and mean scheme of the US and Chiang, we still decorated a class room at the Hsiang-ho Middle School and converted it into a welcoming conference hall to greet the team when it arrived.

When the team began its formal meeting and investigations at Hsiang-ho Hsien on 22 August, the US-Chiang representatives displayed an arrogant attitude and grilled our witnesses as if they were criminal suspects and browbeat the personnel from our side. When I noticed that some of our personnel were so angry and were about to lose their patience, I went over to them in time to calm them down and persuaded them not to be incensed and just answer the questions peacefully in order to maintain normal progress of the meeting.

The principal witnesses from our side were our Sub-Military District Deputy Commander Wang (王) who was in command of the garrison at the Hsiang-ho area; Li Ch'ing-ch'un (李庆春), Commander of the Fifth Company, 53rd Regiment who was an eyewitness to the An-ping Incident; Wang En-t'an (王思潭) a squad leader of the Tung Hsien Guerrilla Unit, and Ma Te-ming (马德明) a sentry who was on duty when the incident occurred.

Deputy Commander Wang told the team about the background of the democratic construction and administration since our forces liberated An-ping Chen in August 1945 and proved that the place in question was a liberated area in our garrison district. He went on to relate how three sentries in our guerrilla unit had sighted several unmarked and unidentified automobiles coming towards An-ping from Tientsin and how the men in the automobile ignored our challenges and orders to stop from the sentries and opened fire on them, killing one of the three sentries on post. He said that at that time the Fifth Company stationed at An-ping and a guerrilla unit from Tung Hsien, numbering over 50 men, joined the two sentries in the battle.

Thus, this proved that the Chiang side had opened fire first. Moreover, witnesses from our side stated that in the beginning of the fighting, they thought it was just an attack launched by the Chiang Army and that not until the first jeep was captured, was it discovered that there were American troops involved. This was a joint action of

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the Kuomintang and American troops.

When our witnesses gave the above accounts and ironclad evidence, the US-Chiang representatives completely ignored them, shaking their heads in disbelief and pounding the table to threaten our witnesses.

The representative from the US side persisted in saying: "The An-ping Incident was your pre-arranged ambush for attacking the American troops." The Chiang Kai-shek representative joined his American master and questioned us: "Why did you kill so many allied troops? You must bear this serious responsibility!" He then arbitrarily said: "There was virtually no 'Nationalist troops' involved in the An-ping incident." When our witnesses heard his statement, they immediately placed two army hats, two cartridge belts, 47 shells and one Model 79 rifle captured from the Chiang troops for public exhibition. Being confronted with this ironclad evidence, the US-Chiang representatives became speechless.

Meanwhile, our witnesses Deputy Commander Wang emphatically pointed out that the truth behind the An-ping Incident was not only that the Kuomintang attempted to control the Peiping-Tientsin Highway but also that it had a more ambitious scheme for occupying our liberated area in Eastern Hopei for the purpose of establishing direct contact with the Chiang Forces in Northeast China. He added that the US forces had taken an active part in such a scheme and become hostile to the Chinese people.

While the US-Chiang representatives were shamelessly and cunningly denying the fact that they were still attacking Hsiang-ho Hsien and avoided mentioning our demands and charges at the meeting, the US-Chiang Forces occupying our west bank of the Hopei Canal suddenly shelled Hsiang-ho Hsien, shattering the conference room and cracking its ceiling with fallen masonry. At that time, I immediately pointed out at the meeting: "Now the artillery shells from the US-Chiang Forces are hitting the door of the conference room. How can you deny the fact that you are not attacking our liberated area? If this kind of barbaric provocative act is not stopped immediately, the safety of the members of the team cannot be assured."

Our representative also told the meeting: "This brazen shelling by the US-Chiang Forces is an outright violation of 'the Ceasefire Agreement during the Mediation Period.' The meeting should take up this matter immediately." But the Chiang representative still shame-facedly denied, saying: "I refuse to discuss this matter. The sound of the artillery fire does not come from the Nationalist Army,

and this is your fabrication." At that moment, we went outside the conference room and picked up several artillery shells with "US" markings which were still burning our hands and put them on the conference table. Our representative pointed at the material evidence and said: "You just made a false charge that our side fabricate the fact, and what are you going to say now?" He further pointed out: "This conduct of US-Chiang Forces in breaching the trust and promise is actually an insult to the mediation team, and endangers the safety of its members. The questioning cannot proceed any further. We must take up this matter immediately and to the spot where shelling has started to investigate."

This put the Chiang representative in a quandary, as his face reddened and he became speechless and was afraid to answer the question of making an on-the-spot inspection. At that time, the American representative tried to act as a mediator to save the Chiang representative's dilemma, saying: "The purpose of this meeting today is for the team to question the witnesses, and matters outside of the conference agenda should not be discussed." With our side fighting for the right and determinedly exposing the sophistry of the US and Chiang conspirators and with the opposite side becoming more and more rowdy and unreasonable, the noise from the heated arguments in the conference room echoed with the sound of artillery fire outside, providing a subtle satire on the so-called imperialist US mediation of civil war in China.

On 23 August, the team continued its meeting to question Ho Hui-jen (何澤然), Administrative Head of the Third District in Tung Hsien and who was formerly stationed at An-ping Chen, Tsao Yu-ming (曹汝明), a farmer from nearby An-ping, and other witnesses. All witnesses testified that An-ping Chen was under the jurisdiction of the liberated area. Ho Hui-jen even brought with him census records and public grain tax certificates which the Kuomintang representatives could not deny.

Peasant Tsao Yu-ming, who exposed how the Kuomintang shamelessly manufactured false evidence, told this factual story at the meeting: "On 12 July of the Solar Calendar, I went to the marketing place at An-ping Chen. On my way I encountered the Kuomintang county magistrate and unit chief of Tung Hsien who summoned the people for talks. They wanted the people to say that the Eighth Route Army opened fire first on the Americans and wanted them to say there was no Nationalist troops taking part in the fighting when the Mediation Team arrives here to investigate."

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At that time, some people did not want to listen, but the Chiang Kai-shek troops threatened them with rifles."

At this point, the Kuomintang representative angered and howled: "Why do you refer to Chairman Chiang as Chiang Kai-shek? This is disrespectful to your leader!" Undaunted, Tsao Yu-ming countered: "Chiang Kai-shek is your Kuomintang's chairman; he is not the chairman of the people and our liberated area. Now, he wants to launch civil war and to oppose the people; we have no more respect for him." The Chiang representative became more and more furious because Tsao Yu-ming struck at the roots of his old trick and he was pounding his chest and kicking his feet while the American representative sided with him and goaded him along. We all backed up Tsao Yu-ming's firm stand and argued with the US-Chiang representatives. As a result, the meeting was adjourned in the heat of the argument.

On 24 August, the mediation team left Hsiang-ho and returned to Peiping via An-ping Chen. Thus, the so-called American "impartial" mediation came to an end. Regardless of what they said about holding further discussion on the results of the investigation after the special mediation team returned to Peiping, the fact of this "mediation" told us that the Americans and Chiang Kai-shek just played tricks and did not have the least sincerity for peace and that we must not entertain any illusions about them. True enough, on the same afternoon after the "mediation team" had left Hsiang-ho, we discovered that the Kuomintang Army brought in new reinforcements on the Hsiang-ho front and reorganized its garrison and command headquarters. On the following morning, the Kuomintang Army renewed its fierce attacks against our position. This fact proved that what we had observed before was absolutely correct, as the only reason that Americans wanted to come to "intercede" was to help Chiang Kai-shek gain time so that he was able to prepare his armed forces for a sudden attack.

While looking at the majestic and beautiful county city of Hsiang-ho Hsien, this thought came to me at that moment: This fact coming from real happening has taught us a lesson and has enabled us to find out the US-Chiang's true color and to learn how to expose the intrigue of the enemies and to deal with them "blow for blow." We went straight to the front with great indignation and determination of winning the war.

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SINKIANG TO HOLD CONFERENCE OF YOUNG ACTIVISTS
HELPING THE FRONTIER AREAS

[Following is a translation of a news dispatch published
in Sinkiang Jih-pao, Urumchi, 14 September 1960, page 26.]

To publicize activists among the young able-bodied men participating in aid to frontier areas and to further develop the active role of young able-bodied men in socialist construction in Sinkiang, the Labor Placement Commission, the Young Communist League, and other concerned organizations in the Sinkiang Uighur Autonomous Region have decided to hold during mid-October a Conference of Young Able-Bodied Activists Supporting Socialist Construction in Sinkiang.

Sixteen organizations, including the Labor Placement Commission, Young Communist League, General Trade Union, Metallurgical Bureau, Communication Department, Agriculture Department, Petroleum Administration, Coal Mining Administration and Urumchi Municipality, have jointly formed a preparatory committee with Comrade Lin Po-min (林勃民), Alternate Secretary of the Sinkiang Regional Party Committee, as Chairman, and Comrades Hsin Lan-t'ing (辛蘭亭), Ssu-ma-i-ya-sheng-no-fu (司马依牙生諾夫), Chang Man-yuan (張邁遠), Kao Shu-hsien (高述先) and Lu Ming (呂銘) as Vice Chairmen.

The conference preparatory committee has recently issued an urgent circular regarding the Conference of young Activists Supporting Socialist Construction in Sinkiang. The circular calls on the various localities and units to embark on an extensive propaganda drive to promote the young able-bodied men to support the frontier areas, to greet the opening of the activist conference in conjunction with the current mass campaign for increasing production and practicing economy centered on grain and steel. The circular specifies the following conditions for selecting the activists:

Those young able-bodied individuals or groups who have set outstanding records and played exemplary roles in holding high the three red banners of big leap forward, general line and people's communes; devotion to the cause of socialist construction in the motherland; displayed ardent love for the frontier; obeyed assignment orders from organizations, responded to the Party's call; demonstrated energetic labor and fulfilled and overfulfilled production quotas, and who have done an exceptional job on the matters of overcoming difficulties, uniting with the local people, humbly learning from the various nationalities and carrying out mutual assistance, all will be selected as activists or delegates to

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the conference. The circular also instructs that those older commune members who have demonstrated outstanding service in accomodating and assisting the young able-bodied men in settling in the frontier areas and in solving their problems of production, livelihood and learning should also send delegates to attend the activist conference.

In order to make the conference a success, the circular also calls on the various localities and organizations to set up temporary work offices or to assign matters relating to the activist conference to an agent in accordance with the practical conditions.

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MAINTAIN THE DIRECTION OF ADVANCE,
RESOLUTELY IMPLEMENT THE POLICIES

Following is a translation of an article by Lung Chi-yen in Yunnan Jih pao (Yunnan Daily), Kunming, 15 August 1960, page 3/

Recently, the various localities have launched a mass and dynamic campaign to overfulfill the guaranteed production quotas. The direct driving forces that impel the extensive development of this campaign are the policies on guaranteed food grain production, on raising hogs, on growing vegetables, and on commune members' wages, publicized among the cadres and broad masses of people by people's communes in various localities. Having understood the four policies, the masses have called these policies "the four great targets." With greater zeal, they have made efforts to bring into realization "the four great targets." The campaign to overfulfill the guaranteed production quotas was immediately launched as a result. The fact that the various localities have pushed the extensive development of the campaign for overfulfilling the guaranteed production quotas has effectively demonstrated the importance of stringently and earnestly implementing the party's policies in arousing the enthusiasm of the masses and in promoting the growth of productivity.

The relationship between the direction of socialism and communism and the party's current policies is the dialectics on the question of relations of unity. The two promote each other and affect each other. Only by constantly maintaining the direction of advance and correctly implementing the party's current policies can a continued leap forward in bringing into realization socialist construction be assured. The experience acquired in the great leap forward during the past several years has fully testified to this truth.

In 1958, under the brilliant illumination of the party's general line for socialist construction, people in our province have gained a clear understanding of the great cause of building our country into a powerful socialist state and realizing communism in our country in the end.

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The broad masses of people have attained a big leap forward with high spirits and with a fervor to complete socialist construction program as soon as possible and to create favorable conditions for the transition to communism.

During spring 1959, in accordance with the directive issued by the party's central committee and Chairman Mao, localities throughout the province continued to arouse greater zeal and fervor while readjusting certain aspects in the relations of production of the people's communes, emphasizing the necessity of maintaining the system of three-level ownership in the people's communes and the current policy of making the administrative district the basic accounting unit. This has further stimulated the production enthusiasm of the masses. Immediately following this, a struggle against rightist opportunism and a rural socialist education movement were launched. The people were more definite about their direction as a result. With a complete change in their spirit, people throughout the province continued to attain a big leap forward in 1959.

Following a conference of cadres at three levels this year, the various localities emphasized the correct implementation of policies while continuing to stress the maintenance of direction. They also laid down explicit provisions for the system of ownership at various levels, hog raising, messhall operations, and other specific policies. Recently, the various localities also resolutely implemented a series of policies concerning guaranteed production quotas, hog raising, vegetable production, and commune members' wages. Following implementation of the policies, the enthusiasm of the masses in overfulfilling the guaranteed production quotas, raising hogs, and carrying out other work has increased considerably. Since last autumn, the masses have shown a tremendous zeal which has provided extremely favorable conditions for attaining a continued leap forward this year.

It is evident from this that the whole process of the great leap forward is the process of maintaining correct direction and implementing the correct policies. And under normal circumstances, the direction is the main guide and is fundamental. It is precisely because of the launching of the struggle against rightist opportunism and the rural socialist education movement that we have scored a decisive victory in the socialist revolution on the political and ideological fronts. With the broad masses of cadres steadfastly maintaining the direction of socialism and communism, the party's general line can then be implemented thoroughly. With a definite idea of the direction

of socialism and communism, a strong revolutionary fortitude, and the communist working style of thinking and doing things boldly, the people have fought courageously and selflessly on the various fronts to build socialism, surmounted numerous difficulties, and made unprecedented achievements. After the people have a clear idea of the direction, the people can then implement the specific policies with a clear and definite direction as guide. The current policies can be firmly implemented and a communist ideological education carried out in coordination with the implementation of the policies. In this way, the thorough implementation of the principles of various policies will be assured and the practice of making up rules as matters come up and losing the sense of direction among the cadres will be prevented and the communist ideology of the masses will also be elevated continuously as well.

This makes us realize deeply that in the whole socialist construction program, we must constantly and correctly maintain the direction in order not to succumb to difficulties and waver in any windstorms but to advance swiftly toward the great target in compliance with the party's directive. In the past few years, educated by the party and under the illumination of the three banners of the general line, the big leap forward, the people's communes, the broad masses of cadres have substantially enhanced their ideological level and have become more certain of the direction of socialism and communism with each passing day. As a result, they have shown greater zeal and have made greater efforts. This is a big ideological leap forward attained by the cadres. Such a big leap forward fully meets the needs in the high-speed socialist construction program and has assured a high-speed leap forward in socialist construction.

Simultaneously with maintaining the direction, we must also see to it that having a correct direction, we must also have a set of appropriate and complete policies and guiding principles and further stimulate the initiative of the broad masses through the implementation of policies, so as to march toward the set direction of socialism and communism with faster and better results. With a view to building our country into a powerful socialist nation in the shortest time possible, the party's central committee and Chairman Mao formulated a series of basic policies for us.

The various localities are correctly implementing the party's policies, particularly such policies and principles as the three-level ownership system of making the administrative district as the basic accounting unit in the pre-

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sent phase of the people's communes, the principle of exchanging goods of equal value, and the principle of "to each according to his work." Through the implementation of policies, they have mobilized the masses and strengthened the party's leadership over the mass movement, bringing into continuous play the initiative of the masses, promoting the growth of productivity, and attaining a continued leap forward one after another. This shows that simultaneously with firmly maintaining the direction, we must also strictly and conscientiously implement the party's policies. Only by properly implementing the party's policies, stimulating the initiative of the masses, and developing productivity can the material foundation for building socialism be laid with faster and better results. In the past two years, despite the serious natural disasters, the whole province have reaped higher yields in farm production and the people's communes have been developed and consolidated on a sound basis, all these are inseparable with the correct implementation of the party's policies.

The reason the party's current policies are able to arouse the initiative and enthusiasm to a great degree is that in formulating any policy, the party has taken into account our basic and long-range interests and has always maintained a correct political direction. It has also taken into account the current and real interests of the masses and started from reality, the level of development in the productivity of the present phase of the people's communes, and the level of consciousness of the masses. It has also closely integrated the long-range with the current interests of the people. We cannot even think of having a kind of specific policy which is divorced from the basic direction or is an abstract political direction which disregards realistic policies.

Stimulating the enthusiasm of the mass in building socialism to the maximum and developing productivity with the greatest speed are the starting point of the party in formulating its policies. By conscientiously implementing the policies, we will be able to stir up greater fervor among the masses. The direction of the people's communes is the system of ownership by the whole people moving from socialism to communism and, when communism is achieved, the application of the principle of "to each according to his ability and to each according to his need." However, from the standpoint that our present productivity is still low and the political and ideological consciousness of the masses has not yet improved substantially, the three-level ownership system of making the administrative district as the basic accounting unit, the principle of "to each ac-

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according to his work", and the principle of exchanging goods of equal value must be carried out at the present time. These principles can still play a positive role in the present phase of our economy.

After the various localities carried out these policies and principles, the production enthusiasm of the people's communes, particularly of the production brigades which guarantee production, was quite high. On the question of raising hogs, as far as the long-range interests are concerned, raising hogs collectively makes it much easier for operations and management and promotes hog production at a high speed, particularly the proportion of commercial hog production. It also benefits the collective economy. However, on the basis that the production brigades accounts for a greater portion of the province's hog production and private hog-raising also accounts for a certain portion, the firm implementation of the policy "placing major emphasis on collective hog raising and equal emphasis on both collective and private hog raising and of walking on two legs" and assigning the collective's hog-raising task mainly to the production brigades at the present time has stimulated the enthusiasm of various levels in hog raising. Particularly, the current superior conditions for hog raising at the production brigade level have been utilized to the fullest and hog production has increased at a high speed during the past 6 months. In areas where this policy has been firmly implemented, the number of hogs has grown rapidly.

Whether it is in grain or hog production, it has demonstrated that the party's policies have played a tremendous role in arousing the enthusiasm of the masses. Facts have proved that the current correct implementation of these policies has stimulated the enthusiasm of various levels in the people's communes and the broad masses of commune members, particularly the production brigades, thus promoting a continued leap forward in production. This is because the economy at the commune level is still weak. When there existed differences in the economy between administrative districts, we took into account, recognized, and took care of the differences between the rich and the poor and adopted the system of using the administrative district as the basic accounting unit to stimulate the initiative of every administrative district. We instituted a system to reward overfulfillment of production quotas so that the units that overfulfilled the production quotas would not only have a definite idea of the direction of socialism and communism, but would also be able to better improve their present livelihood following overfulfillment of their pro-

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duction quotas. This has raised the enthusiasm of units guaranteeing production.

The people's communes in various parts of the province have thoroughly implemented the policies on hog raising, vegetable production, and on wages, which are closely related to the immediate interests of every commune member, making better livelihood arrangements for the commune members, providing the necessary guarantee for the commune members' material life, and further raising the enthusiasm of every commune member. This is in complete conformity with our principle of stressing politics first and material incentive second. Politics first means that we must conduct a socialist and communist education among the masses so that the broad masses may exert greater efforts and work untiringly to realize our great ideal and will not confine their power of vision within an extremely small world. Material incentive means that with our existing production standards, we enthusiastically devote attention to the material life of the masses and their real interests, so as to incite greater zeal among the masses. Because we actively carry out the policies while maintaining political direction, the enthusiasm of the masses is increasing daily. The reason certain policies give greater consideration to the small collective units and commune individuals is that the policies were based on current realities so as to better stimulate the production enthusiasm of the small collection units and commune members under present conditions and under the principle of not hindering socialist production. From a long-range point of view, this is beneficial to large collective production. For instance, judging from a long-range plan, the raising of hogs mainly by the production teams is not the direction. However, with the production brigades as the main hog raisers at the present time, it can stimulate the enthusiasm of the production teams and develop hog production at a high speed and can provide favorable hog-raising conditions for the large collective units from various points of view as well. Implementing the policy of assigning the primary hog-raising task to the production brigades benefits the direction of hog raising by the large collective units. From here we can see the dialectics on the relations of unity between direction and policy and between political command and material interests.

On the contrary, if the conscientious implementation of the party's policies is overlooked, it will not benefit the development of productivity and even produce results diametrically opposed to the direction under certain conditions. Here we must correctly recognize the relationship

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between subjective desire and objective results. Some of the comrades were hasty and anxious in their actual work. Subjectively, they wanted to expedite socialist construction, but the objective results were disadvantageous to the development of productivity and it frequently turned out that "undue haste prevented thoroughness."

For instance, in order to increase the reserve funds of the communes, wages were not issued or very little if issued at all; long-range interests were stressed and current interests overlooked; and the necessary consumption needs of the commune members were overlooked. As a result, the enthusiasm of the commune members was dampened and growth of productivity hampered. Consequently, the increase in the reserve fund of the communes and the long-range interests were affected directly.

To speed up the development in hog production at the commune and administrative district levels will affect the policy of giving the primary hog-raising task mainly to the production brigades. This will affect the enthusiasm of the production brigades in hog raising and will also be a disadvantage to the extensive development of hog production by the commune and administrative district. "Desiring haste" is the subjective desire and "attainment" is the objective result. Only by making the relations of production conform with or generally conform with the objective law and grasping and applying the objective law so that it will serve socialist construction can the demand of "haste" be met. If the large collective ownership system of the commune and the communist factor were too hastily increased and if we deviated from the current production standards and the consciousness level of the masses, we would violate the objective law and, on the other hand, affect the growth of the large collective ownership system and the communist factors.

To constantly watch the main stream of the high degree of enthusiasm among the masses in face of the highly favorable situation in the high-speed leap forward in socialist construction and thereby lead the mass to march forward continuously is completely correct. However, some of the comrades always and easily see only the side of the high degree of enthusiasm among the masses and fail to calmly analyze the actual situations and problems. They have improperly handled the relations between the large collective units and small collective units, between the collectives and the individuals, and between accumulation and consumption. Such phenomenon as production is completely understandable and naturally its reasons are complicated. A small number of people, because their political conscious-

ness is low and they do not know or do not know fully the correct relations between policy and direction, want to depart from the direction and independently implement the current and specific policies, thus committing the error of making their own arbitrary rules as problems arise. They want to carry out loosely the party's current policies.

This is one sided. However, the majority of the comrades have a fine aspiration. High-speed socialist construction is a new undertaking. Because some of the comrades lack the rich and practical experiences in the big leap forward, fail to conscientiously study the various fixed policies of the party, particularly the commune's system of using the administrative district as the basic accounting unit--the important significance of which they do not understand and even failed to understand--and have the idea that they must quickly transform our country's "one poor two blank" countenance, these comrades have overlooked the fact that any work must start from reality. They feel that the more the communist factors the better. They overlook the principles of "to each according to his work" and of "exchange goods of equal value." They are of the opinion that the more the accumulation the more and better for the proportions of the collective economy. They overlook the needs for consumption among the commune members. They feel that development of production is the foundation and they overlook the fact that income distribution and the livelihood arrangements are for the masses...

All these ideas show that the broad masses of cadres are full of enthusiasm in building socialism with more, faster, better, and more economical results. But some of the comrades do not know how to attain the goal of achieving more, faster, better, and more economical results. These have demonstrated that before actively supporting the general line and self-consciously and correctly implementing the general line, the broad masses of cadres must undergo a process of going through repeated practice, and continuously summing up experiences.

We now have acquired rich and practical experiences since the leap forward. As long as we conscientiously sum them up, we can considerably raise the degree of our consciousness to implement the policies so that the broad masses of cadres may learn how to strictly and conscientiously implement the party's policies and shorten to a considerable extent the process of correctly implementing the general line. For this reason, every cadre and every organization must earnestly sum up his own practical experience, so as to steadfastly and unswervingly maintain the direction as well as strengthen immensely his policy view-

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point, enhance his policy level, and rigidly and earnestly implement the party's policies.

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